AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

COPYRIGHT © 1993 THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING SOCIETY - All rights reserved

VOL. 85, NO. 143

COVER STORY

BETTY PRESS

Cathedral in Asmara, Eritrea

After 30 years of fighting, Eritrea has won its independence from Ethiopia. During that time, 750,000 Eritreans fled persecution and military attacks; now many of the former expatriates are coming home to help rebuild their war-damaged and underdeveloped land. **PAGE 10.**

'Above the Fray' Strategy Pays Off for the President

Gergen's arrival and good week for Clinton are more than a coincidence

By Marshall Ingwerson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

CALL it coincidence, or perhaps David Gergen has the timing of an ace stock-picker for knowing when things can only get better. But just two weeks after the erstwhile Republican operative moved full time into the Clinton White House, the news out of the place is decidedly improved.

Mr. Gergen certainly did not create the breaks that have gone President Clinton's way in the past several days, but his fingerprints are on some of them. He was at least a prominent voice in molding the strategy of expounding only broad principles as the budget bill goes through the Senate. The bill cleared its tightest bottleneck, the Senate Finance Committee, on Friday.

Mr. Clinton's above-the-details strategy was a page straight from the book of the last White House Gergen worked in. "With Ronald Reagan, we would send the bill up to the Hill, and Reagan wouldn't comment on it," says Michael Deaver, who worked in the office next to Gergen in the Reagan White House. This strategy keeps the president out of the fray and gives allies in Congress more maneuvering room.

When it was clear by Wednesday that the current White House was making progress on several fronts, the administration decided

See **GERGEN** *page 14*

Europeans' Choice: Defy GATT Or Cut Back on the Welfare State

By Howard LaFranchi

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COPENHAGEN

AS Western Europe sinks deeper into its worst economic downturn in decades, the 12 countries of the European Community have reached a crossroads. They could either move toward more market protectionism, which would antagonize their American and Japanese trading partners, or anger their own populations by scaling back unprecedented levels of social protection.

Neither of those choices is on the agenda as EC leaders meet in the Danish capital, Copenhagen, for a two-day summit beginning today.

"This is not going to be a philosophical discussion of free trade versus protectionism," says Jean Musitelli, spokesman for French President François Mitterrand. "Cutting back on the welfare state is not at all the line of thinking of [Jacques] Delors," says a close aide to the EC Commission president.

But with the Community's unemployed now standing at 17.5 million – more than 10 percent – and expected to swell to 20 million by the end of 1994, officials and observers agree that remedies

See **EC** *page 14*

In Sarajevo, Ethnic Partition Plan Is Deeply Troubling

Bosnians of mixed heritage, cosmopolitan outlook see proposal as depriving them of home

By Jim Muir

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

SARAJEVO

THE proposal to carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina into separate Serb, Croat, and Muslim entities has caused dismay not only among Bosnian Muslims, but also among the many cosmopolitan Bosnians of different backgrounds, especially in the capital, Sarajevo, who still believe in pluralism and coexistence.

The Muslim-led Bosnian government, headed by President Alija Izetbegovic, rejected the partition proposal raised in Geneva last week by Serbs in talks chaired by European and United Nations mediators Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

"If he were to accept such a plan, he would not be able to come home; such is the strength of feeling here," says one government official in Sarajevo, sizing up Mr. Izetbegovic's position.

The problem for the Bosnian Muslims is one both of identity and of geography. By any standards, they will get the short end of the stick in any partition deal.

In 15 months of fighting, the Muslims have lost a great deal of territory – and had many thousands of their people displaced – as the Bosnian Serbs established their grip over some 70 percent of the country.

With the Croats entrenching themselves in about 20 percent of the land, that leaves only around 10 percent for the Muslims, who in the 1991 census made up 43.7 per cent of the population. (The Serbs constitute 31 percent and the Croats 17 percent.)

Some Bosnian Serb officials say they take it for granted that they would have to give up at least some land in exchange for a separatist peace – at least in the form of corridors linking Muslim enclaves.

But there is not yet any formulated Bosnian Serb position on how much territory they would cede.

Given that the Serbs clearly feel victorious, and that land gained by force is rarely yielded easily, the Muslims are not expected to win by negotiation much of what they had lost by arms.

See **BOSNIANS** *page 20*

Training for A Post-Apartheid Society
A New York-based program is helping develop a larger pool of black managerial talent in South Africa.
7

Baseball as an American Metaphor
Filmmaker Ken Burns is working on a documentary of the national sport that will be longer than his 'Civil War' series.
12

Their land at stake, Israeli settlers set up a noisy tent city in the rose garden opposite parliament

A LETTER FROM JERUSALEM

'Zionist Propellers' Twirl for Attention

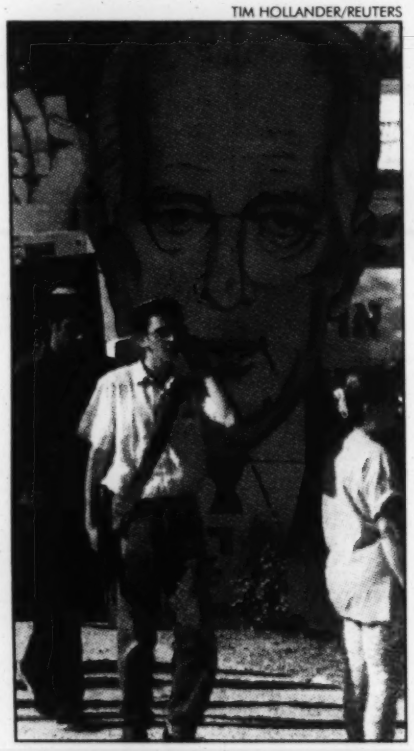
ANY Israeli with a grievance knows that the rose garden opposite the Knesset (parliament) is the place to go. Disaffected poultry farmers hurling eggs and live chickens at officials, resentful Russian immigrants demanding better jobs, Arab activists urging the return of the Palestinian deportees: All of them have used the rose garden as their platform recently.

But rarely has the park been quite so comprehensively or noisily occupied as it was last week by several thousand Jewish settlers from the West Bank and the Golan Heights, plus most of their children, it seemed. Setting up scores of tents and sleeping out overnight, they staged a five-day protest against any territorial compromise for peace, creating a large-scale "happening."

The protest started just a few days after Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said Golan settlers could "spin around in their demonstrations like propellers, it won't do them any good."

Propellers were much in evidence here. "I'm a Zionist propeller; watch me take off," read one of the slogans printed on bumper stickers, stencilled on posters, or chanted by activists.

TIM HOLLANDER/REUTERS



ARMED RESPONSE: *Settlers opposed to the possibility of Israel trading land for peace held a protest last week.*

That sort of upbeat humor permeated the gathering – rather strangely, since the settlers' backs are likely to be up against the wall if Middle East peace talks get anywhere. Land for peace is the basis on which Israel is negotiating, and the land at stake is the land the settlers live on.

"Rabin has no mandate, and that's a fact," was another slogan painted on banners around the park, recalling public-opinion polls that show large majorities opposed to giving up the Golan Heights to Syria, or the West Bank to the Palestinians.

The fear that public opinion might turn against them if a peace deal was in the offing – just as it did over the Camp David Accords with Egypt 15 years ago – has prompted the settlers' campaign.

All the biggest settlements erected their own tents in the rose garden, and some of them pretended to conduct their municipal business. Yeshivas moved in for the week, conducting Torah classes under canvas, and settler groups set up makeshift video salons showing documentaries about the Arab threat.

At one counter, Michal Ben Hurin, a rough-handed settler from the Golan Heights, was signing up volunteers to help defend the settlements should the government ever try to evacuate them.

He didn't seem to have very many names and phone numbers, though, underscoring the scarcity of visitors to the protest camp who were not settlers themselves.

Impressive though the scene was, the demonstrators were almost all from the small core of religiously and ideologically motivated settlers. They live in occupied territory behind barbed wire fences, insulated from the hostility around them.

But in Jerusalem, too, they seemed isolated in a sea of indifference.

– Peter Ford

INTERNATIONAL

Japan At Historic Point As Ruling Party Splits

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

IN 1991, Japan's ballooning stock market popped. In 1992, its sky-high property market fell to earth.

And now in 1993, Japan's giant Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has taken a mighty tumble, losing its hold on government after 38 years in power.

The party split Friday in a no-confidence vote against Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, who called for lower house elections on July 18, leaving himself and the nation in political limbo.

Japan's democracy, like its economy, faces fundamental structuring. Dominated by one party for decades, Japan's politics as well its role as a world leader are now up for grabs as the post-war order has been shattered by last week's events.

"We want to revitalize Japanese politics for the 21st century," says Tsutomu Hata, the LDP rebel who split the party and is leading the effort to form a new center-right party.

The sun has finally set on the LDP, say many analysts, its job finished as a conservative grouping of political factions put together in 1955 to help Japan fight the cold war and become an economic superpower.

With the cold war over, the economy faltering, and the public fed up with LDP corruption, the party has been paralyzed by internal power plays and a string of scandals that started in 1989. In the last two weeks, when the party finally admitted it would not seek reform of the electoral system before the end of the current parliamentary session on June 20, public opinion shifted markedly.

The no-confidence motion, introduced by six opposition parties, passed by a vote of 255 to 220. About 15 percent of LDP members defected by either voting for the measure or abstaining. The party's once-unbreakable majority in the lower house was effectively cut to a humbler 43 percent.

Its ranks could shrink further in coming days, as more defections are possible. The party's power has been ebbing ever since it lost a majority in the weaker upper house in 1989, because of political scandals, a new consumer tax, and a farmers' revolt.

In Friday's vote, Prime Minister Miyazawa was the most obvious target of criticism. But as a weak leader of a minor faction picked by party barons in 1991 to run the government, his real failing was in not being able to stand up to the back-room power of former prime ministers Yasuhiro Nakasone and Noburo Takeshita. Both men had to resign party posts amid the 1989 scandals.

Miyazawa's predecessor, Toshiki Kaifu, another weak, hand-picked prime minister, lost power in 1991 after pushing party leaders too strongly toward reform. Miyazawa is unlikely to stay as prime minister after the election. His term as party leader was to end in September anyway.

He "has betrayed the people by promising political reform and then refusing to allow parliament to debate the issue," roared Sadao Yamahana, leader of the opposition Social Democratic Party (SDP), in an unusually blunt speech. "The prime minister is a liar." Miyazawa responded: "I did not plan to lie."

The sun has finally set on the LDP, say many analysts, its job finished as a conservative grouping of factions assembled to help Japan fight the cold war and become an economic superpower.

Japan's search for a new political order will be made all too public to the world, as the election campaign will be under way during the summit of the Group of Seven industrialized nations in Tokyo July 7-9.

Miyazawa himself will be welcoming President Clinton and other leaders as a lame-duck (or "dead body," as the Japanese say), unable to do much about recent strong demands by the United States and Europe for Japan to resolve trade disputes. While Japan's powerful bureaucrats can make some concessions, the toughest decisions are often left to politicians.

"In the world after the cold war, Japan will be trusted and respected only when it has a healthy democracy," says Mr. Yamahana.

Political uncertainty will continue even after the election as Japan's various new and old minority parties try to piece together a coalition. Many Japanese do not regard the established opposition party as capable of governing.

Barring a full breakup, the LDP remains the largest party. The LDP will likely need to make alliances with other parties, as it has been forced to do off and on since 1989 in passing key legislation through the upper house.

"Japan may finally have a genuine multiparty system," says political commentator Minoru Morita.

Mr. Hata, the LDP rebel, plans to put up about 100 candidates under his new "Reform Forum 21" party, in the contest for the 511 lower house seats. The LDP hopes to field 132 candidates, while the SDP may put up 137. Other parties plan far fewer candidates. One measure of the LDP's prospects will be seen in elections this week in the race for 128 seats in the Tokyo municipal assembly.

Hata, and his fellow rebel Ichiro Ozawa, claim to be champions of election reform, but their images are tarnished by past membership in the formerly powerful LDP faction of Mr. Takeshita and Shin Kanemaru.

"Who were they just a few months ago? Nothing but loyal henchmen and hatchetmen working for Shin Kanemaru and Noburo Takeshita," stated a Mainichi newspaper editorial.

Mr. Kanemaru, once LDP kingpin, fell from grace last August after admitting that he took huge amounts of money from a trucking firm. His trial for tax evasion starts July 22, four days after the election.

Japan's business establishment, already suffering under a weak economy, is worried about the "political confusion." Japanese big business has been the main source of funds for the LDP, which is legendary for favoring producers over consumers in its governance.

The campaign is expected to focus on political reform, but the subject is so complex that the issue may not be easily resolved by the election. "This state of affairs is enough to perplex the most discerning voter," stated Mainichi. "Thus the parties and candidates who are to fight the upcoming election must make one point clear: whether to maintain the existing structure of seek an entirely new system."

ALEXANDER JOE/AFP

US FIREPOWER: *Reporters and photographers were able to witness the US attacks on Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed, such as this nighttime assault on June 14, from the roof of their hotel.*

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Somalis' Anger and Aideed's Escape Temper UN Claim of 'Success'

Our writer describes scenes from US attacks, reactions on the ground

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor

MOGADISHU, SOMALIA

MUCH of last week's mini-war against one of Somalia's main militia leaders, Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed, took place within a few blocks of the hotel where most foreign journalists stay.

A wall-rattling "BOOM" at about 1:30 a.m. on June 17 sent reporters scrambling up to the hotel roof. A US AC-130 Spectre attack plane was circling high overhead, around the area where General Aideed lives.

The United States and United Nations blame Mr. Aideed for refusing to disarm and for ambushes that killed 23 Pakistani soldiers on June 5. From the roof we could also see the intersection where Pakistani soldiers, using automatic rifles and machine guns, fired on a crowd of Somali demonstrators, killing at least 14, on June 13.

The hotel rooftop was a jumble of satellite dishes and other communications equipment linking reporters to world capitals. Many of the reporters were wearing bullet-proof jackets. But having none, I wrote notes in the dark. When the AC-130 crew switched on a giant spotlight, I could easily see to write.

A CBS News correspondent stood in front of a camera using a special night-vision scope. CNN's crew was nearby. Someone even played rock music softly until another reporter complained that the music made it difficult for radio correspondents to record the attack sounds.

During a lull in the bombing, troops ordered residents in the area near Aideed's home to come out of their homes and surrender. But Aideed, who had held press conferences earlier in the week, escaped the massive military dragnet.

At dawn, US Cobra helicopters swooped in for repeated attacks, and Aideed's men answered with machine guns and other automatic weapons.

Amid the attacks, I noticed a bird sitting on a ledge of the hotel roof – singing.

A Somali man, so angry he was shaking, came onto the roof shouting: "You will die in one hour." He showed us his ID card, which said he was a member of Aideed's group. Then he left the hotel, striding down the middle of the street.

Some reporters seemed to get a thrill out of the risks they took to get close to fighting. Photographers felt they had to get close to the action for a good shot.

I ran across the street to a tea shop and began interviewing people. Most felt the attacks would lead to more violence and that Aideed's men would not give up. (Later, in a section of Mogadishu controlled by Aideed's arch rival, Mohamed Ali Mahdi, I heard praise for the UN attacks.)

Then there was another "BOOM." US helicopters had begun firing air-to-ground missiles. I spotted Paul Watson of the Toronto Star jogging, in a sudden downpour, toward the target zone. I joined him.

We walked and jogged for several blocks, hugging walls to avoid the sniper fire we hoped was coming from just one side of the street. We dashed across intersections that led to areas where Aideed's men were firing heavily.

Amazingly, all along the way, we saw Somali civilians huddled in doorways or under the slight shelter of market stalls. Some even walked casually down the street. They watched us. I waved; some waved back.

We passed a line of Italian tanks. A block later, we reached a second line of Italian tanks parked at the edge of the area under attack.

Aideed's house was a couple of blocks away. I interviewed some Somalis at the intersection. A few were angry when I acknowledged I was an American.

SNIPER fire sent me scurrying a few times, though the Somalis calmly chatted in the street. On one occasion, I grabbed a young boy standing nearby and pulled him out of the line of possible fire.

Late last week retired US Adm. Jonathan Howe, the UN special envoy to Somalia, ordered Aideed's arrest. Admiral Howe claimed the operation was a "complete success" without explaining how it could have succeeded when Aideed got away.

The UN says nearly 1,400 ground troops were involved in the attacks. Five soldiers – four Moroccans and a Pakistani – were killed, along with 22 Somalis. About 2,000 more US troops arrived off the coast of Mogadishu yesterday to support the UN operations.

I couldn't help wondering whether a SWAT team from New York or Chicago could have arrested Aideed without all the military firepower and 1,400 troops.

SIGNS OF CULTURAL UNEASE

New French Laws Placate Demands for 'Zero Immigration'

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PARIS

WHAT would Voltaire think? The 18th century French philosopher, known for saying that "Every man has two countries, his own and France," might have had to reassess that statement after the country's National Assembly on Friday passed tough new laws to discourage immigration.

Coming on the heels of other legislation making it more difficult for foreigners to acquire French nationality, the new laws combine to portray a country ill at ease with its estimated 4 million foreigners. **(US crackdown, page 6.)**

The new laws are in line with Interior Minister Charles Pasqua's goal of "zero immigration" – a goal that most economic, legal, and demographic experts agree is neither realistic nor desirable. Like much of Europe, France is currently bogged down in a job-eliminating recession – but also has a birth rate among the "French" population that is below the replacement level.

The new immigration measures:

- Tighten laws under which legal immigrants can bring family members into France: so-called family reunification rules.
- End the automatic issuance of 10-year work permits to children who turn 18, after having entered France under family reunification.
- Prohibit granting of French nationality to an illegal resident marrying a French citizen.
- Tighten regulations under which foreign students can acquire long-term residency.
- Make attaining political asylum more difficult.

The immigration legislation follows new nationality laws that complicate the means by which children born in France of foreign parents can attain French nationality. Such children will now have to wait until they are 18 to request French nationality. New laws also allow the police to check without cause anyone's identification papers.

In proposing the anti-immigration measures, Mr. Pasqua argued that they would help the country's legal immigrants integrate better by addressing the threatening aura of "uncontrolled immigration," and would help dry up the xenophobia that is one of the seedbeds of Europe's extreme right. Some supporters tout the laws as the last chance for what they call "French-style integration," which favors full acceptance of French culture and republican principles over any sense of multiculturalism.

Other supporters, sounding closer to the far right that Pasqua eschews, argue that such tough measures are needed to protect the French identity.

On the other hand, the political left and immigrants rights' groups have attacked the new measures as dangerous for the country's long-term domestic peace and destabilizing for legal immigrants. "[The new laws] are a radical return to the old concept that considers foreigners to be game [hunted] by the police," says Jean-Michel Belorgey, central committee member of the French Human Rights League. "They go against not only the principles outlined in the universal and European human rights declarations, but the [French] republican spirit."

"This is not about favoring the integration of the foreigner hoping to legally settle down in France, but rather creating the conditions for a veritable destabilization of immigrants by placing them under systematic surveillance," adds Sami Naïr, a political scientist and specialist in French immigration.

Immigration into France is actually lower than a decade ago. But because today's immigrant tends to be from the developing world, rather than from southern Europe, critics have attacked the new laws as racist.

Following passage of the legislation, Pasqua called it "balanced," given France's current economic and social context. But appearing to admit that the new laws could become repressive if not applied with moderation, he added, "I do not accept the excesses, the outrages, and the fears this text could cause."

Empower America Says Clinton Will Help GOP

FORGET the $200 haircut. Conservatives charge that President Clinton's real difficulty is his penchant for outmoded, big-government policies.

Four leading Republicans say that the president's proposals on taxes and health care will seriously damage the American economy and open the way for huge political gains by the GOP in the 1994 elections.

Jack Kemp, a former Cabinet member in the Bush White House, says Mr. Clinton's tax increases will cost the United States 4 million jobs over the next three years and "will absolutely destroy the Northeast."

Mr. Kemp spoke to reporters Friday at a Monitor breakfast, where he was joined by former Rep. Vin Weber, former United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, and former Education Secretary William Bennett.

They are among the founders of Empower America, a group established earlier this year to promote conservative ideas and fight for control of the Republican Party.

Kemp, who may seek the 1996 Republican presidential nomination, argues that the Clinton plan targets people who work, save, and invest in new jobs. "You can't have capitalism without capital," Kemp notes. He says Clinton's plan raises the tax rate on capital formation by 40 percent.

WASHINGTON WATCH

"His tax plan will destroy his presidency. It will elect a Republican Congress in 1994, in my view," Kemp says. The four also warned Republicans not to be lured, as many have, by the "siren song" of Texas billionaire Ross Perot. "I don't think, frankly, that he's a Republican," Mrs. Kirkpatrick says. Mr. Bennett agrees. "He believes in higher taxes; he's opposed to free trade; he's absolutely pro-choice on abortion; he opposed the Gulf war; he has no problem with gays in the military. This is not a Republican."

■ *John Dillin reports from Washington*

Women Foreign Service officers sue State

Some female Foreign Service officers are asking a federal court to stop the State Department from violating anti-discrimination rulings. The women's motion, filed Friday in US District Court in Washington, seeks a five-year extension of a 1989 injunction forbidding discrimination against female Foreign Service officers and asks individual remedies for women affected by violations. It also accuses Secretary of State Warren Christopher of violating the injunction and seeks to have him held in contempt of court.

The case, originally brought 17 years ago, contended that the State Department was accepting far fewer women than men in the Foreign Service and was discriminating against women in training, assignments, evaluations, and awards.

– Compiled by David Mutch

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

Manager: Al M. Carnesciali
Chief Operating Officer/Print: Miles M. Harbur
Circulation Manager: Ronald G. Love
Advertising Sales: Nicholas Drinker
Advertising Production: Barbara Lasker

Editor: Richard J. Cattani
Deputy Editor: Ruth Walker
DEPARTMENTS: Page 1, Gregory M. Lamb; **World,** Jane A. Lampmann; **US,** Gail Russell Chaddock; **Economy,** David R. Francis; **Features,** Lawrence J. Goodrich; **Editorials,** Peter N. Spotts; **Graphics,** John Van Pelt; **Operations,** David Stormont; **Business Manager,** Olive F. Ratcliffe

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.
Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.
ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.
MAILING LISTS: Our subscriber list is at times used by carefully screened companies and organizations. To avoid such mailings, please send a written request to the Des Moines address.
REPRINT PERMISSION: Copyright Adm., One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115 (1-800-288-7090, X2026).
POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.

NATIONAL

Clinton Vows to Stem Tide Of Illegal US Immigration

Strategy calls for targeting smugglers and speeding up deportations

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton, under growing public pressure, vows to crack down on international criminal gangs that are smuggling thousands of illegal aliens into the United States.

Using space satellites, Coast Guard patrols, and worldwide intelligence agencies, the federal government will try to stem smuggling operations working out of Asian and Latin American countries, White House officials say.

The president denounced smugglers, who charge up to $35,000 apiece to transport aliens to the US, for subjecting immigrants to "slave-like conditions of indentured servitude to pay off their debts."

Criminal gangs are earning millions by exploiting loopholes in US immigration policy. Liberal regulations and an absence of tough federal enforcement currently permit thousands of illegal migrants to remain in the country.

Senior White House officials promise that deportation proceedings, which now can drag on for 18 months, will be speeded up. The White House will also ask Congress to pass new legislation that will allow deportation of illegal aliens within 30 days or less.

The crisis in smuggled aliens hit America's front pages when the "Golden Venture," a boat loaded with about 300 illegal Chinese immigrants, grounded June 6 at a New York City beach. At least nine of the Chinese died trying to swim for shore.

Senior White House officials were alarmed by illegal-immigrant smuggling even before the Golden Venture came ashore. They had already watched boatloads of Chinese illegals arrive in Mexico, from where 150 Chinese crossed into the US; San Diego; and San Francisco – all within the past six weeks. In addition, two fishing boats, each carrying some 150 Chinese, came ashore in California after taking the aliens off a mother ship.

Altogether, a senior White House analyst, who spoke on condition of anonymity, estimates that 2,000 smuggled Chinese immigrants were caught by federal and state law-enforcement agencies since early May. Most are being detained by the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), pending legal action.

A White House analyst called the smuggling situation "dynamic," saying without swift action, the number of people arriving could continue to rise.

All this has taken place while the top position at the INS remained vacant for the first five months of the Clinton term. On Friday, the president tapped a highly experienced immigration specialist, Doris Meissner, as INS commissioner.

MIKE THEILER/REUTERS

DORIS MEISSNER: *President's appointment of her Friday for job of INS commissioner is being praised by pro- and anti-immigration groups.*

Ms. Meissner, a senior associate and director of the Immigration Policy Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, formerly served as acting commissioner of INS.

Her appointment was praised, both by advocates of large-scale immigration as well as immigration critics. She is considered a centrist on immigration policy.

At a ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House, Meissner said: "The movement of people is emerging as one of the critical global issues that we face in a new age."

Other nations, including France, Germany, Canada, and Australia, are also struggling with illegal immigration. The president, whose immigration policies were not previously well-defined, indicated that he sees a direct link between large-scale immigration and domestic problems.

He told reporters: "It is a commonplace of American life that immigrants have made our country great and continue to make a very important contribution to the fabric of American life. But ... under the pressures we face today, we can't afford to lose control of our own borders, or to take on new financial burdens, at a time when we are not adequately providing for the jobs, the health care, and the education of our own people. Therefore, immigration must be a priority for this administration."

Clinton's statement indicated a volte-face for Democrats in Washington, who have generally favored higher levels of immigration. Under Democratic-supported laws, immigration rose toward 10 million during the 1980s, and could be even higher in the 1990s.

The president's new immigration effort has several major features that would:

■ Increase detention of immigrants.

■ Slash processing time for asylum claims, from 18 months to four months.

■ Impose harsh criminal penalties for smuggling, including 20-year prison terms, up from the current five-year maximum.

■ Propose new legislation within two weeks to exclude illegal aliens, with a quick, two-step review that will take no more than 10 to 30 days.

■ Expand current prison facilities to detain smuggled aliens.

■ Use diplomatic means to get greater cooperation from nations that either send smuggled immigrants or facilitate their transport. The principal sending nations are China, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, and Pakistan. The primary facilitating countries are China, Hong Kong, Thailand, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan.

FRANKLIN
GLOBAL UTILITIES FUND

Global Utilities: A Powerful Industry

All over the world, many underdeveloped countries are making strides as they move toward free market economies. As a country's standard of living rises so does its demand for electricity, water, and telephone service.

What does this suggest for the global utilities market? The potential for capital growth.

What does this suggest to you as an investor? You can position yourself to participate in this growth potential by investing in the Franklin Global Utilities Fund.

The fund aims for capital growth and current income by investing in the securities of utility companies, primarily located in countries with expanding populations and fast-growing economies.†

Call your investment advisor or Franklin today for more information.

1-800-342-FUND
EXT 1589

†There are special risk considerations associated with global investing.

Franklin/Templeton Distributors, Inc., 777 Mariners Island Blvd., San Mateo, CA 94404-1585

Yes! I would like a free prospectus containing more complete information on a Franklin Global Utilities Fund, including charges and expenses. I will read it carefully before I invest or send money.

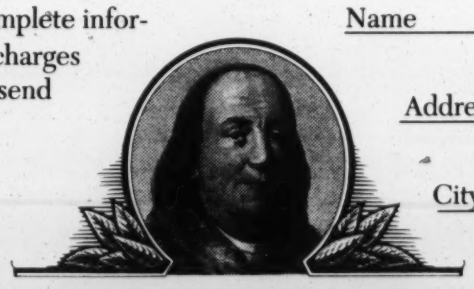
__ I am currently a Franklin shareholder.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

CSM93
1589



MEMBER $95 BILLION FRANKLIN/TEMPLETON GROUP

Ruling sends signal that religious people must not be denied the rights or privileges available to nonbelievers in public life

Supreme Court Extends Scope of Religious Rights

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

DURING the past two weeks, the United States Supreme Court has fundamentally expanded the scope of religion in public life.

First, the justices ruled that a New York school district could not close its doors to religious groups if it allowed other organizations to use its facilities after-hours. Then the justices refused to hear a challenge to a Texas court decision that students could lead graduation prayers at a public high school. Next, the court unanimously declared that Hialeah, Fla., could not ban the sacrifice of animals by adherents of the Santeria faith. Finally, the court ruled 5 to 4 on Friday that an Arizona school district could be required under federal law to pay for a sign-language interpreter for a deaf student attending a parochial high school.

The impact of the recent rulings will not be known until lower courts and legislatures interpret them in coming years. For example, it is not clear how the decisions will affect voucher programs that pay for students to attend parochial schools. But the signal the court has sent is unmistakable: Religious people must not be denied rights or privileges available to nonbelievers.

"I think clearly the court has turned a corner on religious freedom and religion in public life," says Jim Henderson, an attorney for the conservative American Center for Law and Justice.

Mr. Henderson says that the court rulings will affect a slew of cases that come across his desk every day. In one case, a religious group was not allowed to use a government building after-hours to hold a prayer meeting. In another instance, a high school student was not allowed to display a religious message on a bulletin board that other students could use as they liked. After the Supreme Court's recent rulings, Henderson believes, those bans are now unconstitutional.

Liberal groups are dismayed by this development. Barry Lynn, executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, called Friday's ruling "a very bad decision" and said it "is probably the first time in US history that the taxpayers' money has been used to subsidize religious indoctrination."

The Zobrest ruling, as well as the other recent decisions, leaves many constitutional scholars more than a little mystified because they do not establish any clear standard by which to judge future cases.

At the same time, however, Mr. Lynn sought to minimize the ruling's impact. "It's a very narrowly worded decision," he said. "It doesn't appear to open the door for vouchers or other direct parochial-school aid."

The case decided Friday began when the parents of James Zobrest, a deaf student, enrolled him in a Roman Catholic high school in Tucson, Ariz. The Zobrests asked the local school board to supply their son with a sign-language interpreter under the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. The board refused, arguing that paying for an interpreter would violate the First Amendment's prohibition against establishment of religion. The Zobrests sued the school district, citing another clause of the First Amendment that bars the government from interfering with the free exercise of religion. The lower courts sided with the school district, but a majority of the high court disagreed.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist, in the majority opinion, wrote, "We have consistently held that government programs that neutrally provide benefits to a broad class of citizens defined without reference to religion are not readily subject to an Establishment Clause challenge just because sectarian institutions may also receive an attenuated financial benefit."

Justice Harry Blackmun, joined by Justice David Souter, wrote a blistering dissent in which he accused the majority of straying "from the course set by nearly five decades of Establishment Clause jurisprudence." Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and John Paul Stevens dissented on the grounds that the court should not have tackled the constitutional issue at all.

The Zobrest ruling and the other recent decisions leave many constitutional scholars more than a little mystified because they do not establish any clear standard by which to judge future cases. The reigning standard is the 1971 Lemon v. Kurtzman, which establishes a three-part test to determine if a government practice violates the Establishment Clause. But the Lemon standard has not been consistently applied. In Zobrest, the court majority did not invoke Lemon, nor did justices overturn it and establish a new standard.

Church-state jurisprudence "was a muddle before and it's a muddle now," says Prof. Michael McConnell of the University of Chicago Law School.

Jesse Choper, a constitutional scholar at the University of California at Berkeley, attributes the court's indecision to Justice Byron White. Mr. White opposes Lemon, but Professor Choper speculates that he was unwilling to create a new standard because "he has one foot out the door."

As a result, it will be up to Ruth Bader Ginsburg, if she is confirmed to the court, to steer a new course on church-state relations. Choper believes this is the area where Judge Ginsburg would have the greatest impact. "I think she'll be a stronger separationist than White," he says.

MONITOR THE WORLD FOR 35¢ A DAY.

☐ 3-month introductory offer $21.97
☐ 6-month introductory offer $41.97

☐ Check/money order enclosed. ☐ Bill me, please.

Name (Please Print) _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____

Offer available only in the U.S.A.

- DAILY EDITION ONLY -
- NEW ORDERS ONLY -
MAIL TO:
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
P.O. Box 10116, Des Moines
IA 50340-0116 U.S.A.
OR CALL TOLL-FREE:
1-800-456-2220

MH38011

Consumers Start Slow Walk Down Information Highway

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

RESTON, VA.

THE next generation of information technology will roar through the office long before it gets to the home. That is what most experts assume. But a number of companies are working to hook consumers into the high-speed information superhighway.

Their vision sounds compelling: pizza orders via TV, video-conversations with Grandma. But will it work? "There's been so much hype lately and so many people positioning," says Patrick Ferrell, president of Infotainment World, which publishes a leading video-game magazine. But a mass consumer market for the information superhighway is at least five years away, he adds.

Do not tell that to Dave Lehman, president of TV Answer here in suburban Washington, D.C. "We believe that we are the lowest cost, lowest power network in the world," he says. "With that, we think we are going to drive it all the way down to the family unit."

TV Answer is expected to make its debut by early next year. It will allow homeowners to buy a box letting them respond to what they see on television. They could order a product after seeing an ad (provided the sponsor had signed on with TV Answer); do their banking electronically; or answer questions posed by an educational show.

Sega, the computer-game maker, is starting a game service called the Sega Channel. It will allow subscribers to the service to play hundreds of Sega games via cable television. Only subscribers to Tele-Communications Inc. and Time Warner can use the service. But Mr. Ferrell calls it "the first step in the direction of making the television more interactive and having entertainment per se on demand."

THE problem with these strategies is that consumers are not ready for them, several experts say. "There are no revolutions in consumer products; there are evolutions," says Michael Wheeler, senior vice president of new media for NBC. The network has announced its own on-demand service for video and audio news, but it is specifically targeted at business.

"The reality is that there have been at least 100 multimedia trials over the last 20 years," adds Bruce Sidran, vice president and executive director of First Cities, an information-access project of the Microelectronics and Computer Technologies Corporation in Austin, Texas. "There's scant historical evidence that people care about this at all."

What makes the consumer market so tantalizing is its size. And there are some indications, at least, that information-on-demand will attract consumers if it is properly packaged.

For years, Hilton Hotels offered its guests scheduled movies for an extra fee. One ran early in the evening; another late at night. Guests in 7 percent of the occupied rooms tuned in. In February, Hilton installed a new system, making dozens of movies available whenever the guests want. Viewership has almost tripled to 18 percent. "It has been a tremendous boon in terms of revenue and customer satisfaction," says Dennis Koci, Hilton vice president of staff services. The system, called On Command Video, also lets guests check out and review their bill electronically – a feature that especially pleases business travelers.

The system is hardly high-tech. Each hotel runs a bank of video cassette recorders with movies installed and a switch connecting the right movie to the room. Popular titles are installed in more than one machine. The technology exists to replace the bank of VCRs with a satellite feed, but "our engineers say it's way too expensive right now," says Susan Pitts, vice president of venture management and development at Comsat Video Enterprises. Comsat is the majority owner of On Command Video.

When LodgeNet Entertainment Corporation tried to roll out a test system where movies started every 15 or 30 minutes, consumers did not bite. "The on-demand ... is the best way to go," says Tim Flynn, LodgeNet's president and chief executive officer. The Sioux Falls, S.D., company has also signed an exclusive agreement to market an interactive game service.

ECONOMY

Black South Africans Seek An Edge

US program set up to increase pool of managers and train them for post-apartheid society

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

SIX months ago, Harvey Khuzwayo was given a promotion at the First National Bank of South Africa in Johannesburg.

What makes this event newsworthy is that Mr. Khuzwayo had just returned from a six-month project in New York called the "Professional Development Program" (PDP), which trains black South Africans for a post-apartheid society. The participants are chosen by their South African employers. Khuzwayo says the program not only helped him get the promotion, but also is helping him analyze potential loans in his new position.

Khuzwayo's promotion is a sign that the PDP program, which celebrates its first anniversary next month, is having some success. The sponsors will get a better idea after the current cycle of 13 professionals finish up their programs at the end of July. But it could be 10 years until the final impact of the program is felt.

"The goal of this program is to increase the pool of black managerial talent and give them a bit of an edge so they can compete with their white counterparts in South Africa," says Nomsa Daniels, the program administrator here. To meet that goal, 13 New York-area companies have volunteered to train the professionals – sometimes through on-going programs and sometimes with on-the-job activities. Although most of the companies are involved in financial services, the program also includes such giants as General Foods, IBM, and Con Edison.

The effort is modest but is attracting some high-level attention. On June 15, the South African participants went to Washington to meet with Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, White House Economic Security Advisor Robert Rubin, and District Mayor Sharon Pratt-Kelly, as well as other dignitaries.

PDP is the brainchild of New York Mayor David Dinkins, who challenged the business community to demonstrate its commitment to the anti-apartheid movement after Nelson Mandela's visit to the city in 1990. The mayor calls the program a "prototype" of how business can help as South Africa moves toward a free society. Baruch College in Manhattan administers the program and provides management classes. Expenses are shared by the participants' employers and the companies in the United States that sponsor them.

Con Edison, New York's electric company, is hosting Tumelo Chipfupa, an engineer at Eskom, South Africa's national utility. Mr. Chipfupa says he believes the program will help to accelerate his own career into middle management. At the moment, Chipfupa is the only black engineer at his South African power plant, which has 1,000 employees. "People who work in the place have never seen a black engineer," he says. "Heads turn."

Six months at Con Ed have broadened Chipfupa's exposure, showing him there are different ways to get things done. The program has helped to build his confidence, Chipfupa says. As part of his program, he made a presentation to different Con Ed plants. It is the first time he has had to do this and he says he improved after every presentation.

Nelson Manyati also has been learning while working in the municipal finance department of Goldman Sachs, an investment bank. South Africa does not have a similar municipal bond market. Municipal bond financing "might be one way we might be able to address the problems we have," says Mr. Manyati, a manager of corporate accounts at South Africa's First National Bank. Municipal bond financing could help provide capital for housing and health care, for example.

The American workplace has come as a surprise to some participants. Bernard Montwedi, a sub-branch supervisor at the Amalgamated Bank of South Africa, says he expected to find more African-Americans in management positions when he arrived at his host company, Citibank. But in the six departments he has visited, he has come into contact with only three African-Americans in management positions. "It's basically the same environment I was working in in South Africa," he says. However, he adds that two of the senior managers at Citibank were black – a rare event at his bank, which has an Afrikaner background.

In fact, some of the programs' participants say they have found a form of apartheid in America. Mr. Montwedi observes that blacks tend to live in "different areas" than whites. Khuzwayo says he was surprised that race relations in America are not better.

Montwedi says he finds it "discriminatory" that there are special programs set up to aid minorities, particularly African-Americans. His opposition to such programs is not surprising since the African National Congress is arguing against setting up special programs, or guaranteeing the rights of the white minority in South Africa.

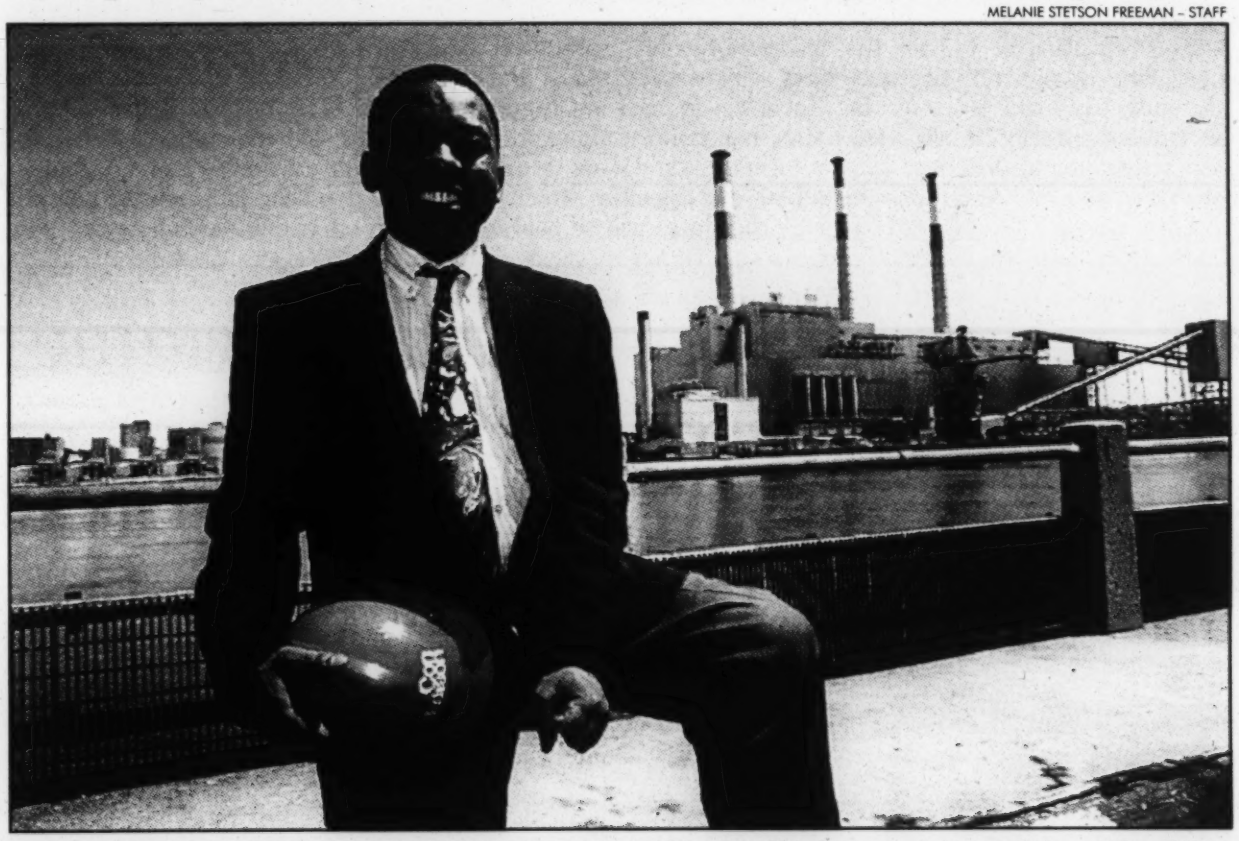
The 13 participants are all housed at International House at Columbia University. Living with foreign students from around the world has been a broadening experience for the participants since most have not traveled outside South Africa before. "I have come across two people where we have no common language – it is very exciting," Montwedi says.

The South African employers say they expect that the time in America will allow the participants to grow. "It should be beneficial to live in a non-apartheid society," says Chris Vin Staden, senior manager of career development at the First National Bank in Johannesburg. He says that the reason the bank promoted Khuzwayo is because of his training at Citibank in the first cycle.

Although Khuzwayo received a promotion upon returning to South Africa, some say the program may be raising the participants' expectations too high. Last month, Dr. S. Prakash Sethi, the Baruch College project administrator for the program, went to South Africa to meet with the participating South African companies and the first seven participants. He found the changes in the black managers "remarkable." They have become more assertive, want their companies to make better use of their skills, and are seeking ways to contribute to the wider community. However, he admits that the original group is also frustrated.

"Even their friends expect them to be heroes," he says. "Six months here won't do that. We can plant the seeds, but the germination has to take place in South Africa."

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF



TUMELO CHIPFUPA: *An engineer with South Africa's national utility, Mr. Chipfupa spent time training at Con Edison as part of the "Professional Development Program," helping black South African workers compete.*

FAMILY LEAVE ALREADY UP AND RUNNING

NEW YORK

■ Nearly 70 percent of medium- and large-sized companies already offer their employees family leave, according to a survey by Towers Perrin, a management consulting firm in New York. Yet most of these companies will have to modify their programs to comply with Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 regulations, issued earlier this month by the Department of Labor.

Among the 701 companies that responded to the survey, 58 percent offer unpaid family leave; 9 percent offer both paid and unpaid leave; 3 percent offer only paid leave; and 31 percent have no family leave program.

More than 90 percent of the respondents with programs said costs were not significant.

PAY AT THE PUMP: OIL COMPANY'S WAVE OF THE FUTURE

FAIRFAX, VA.

■ Filling up the tank is becoming faster and easier. Mobil Corporation says it plans to install electronic payment systems at about 2,000 of its stations by the end of the year. The electronic terminals, which allow customers to fill up their tanks and pay for their gas at a self-serve pump, will increase stations' sales volumes by 5 to 10 percent, Mobil says.

A company survey shows that the pay-at-the-pump process cuts the time of gasoline purchase by half. "Motorists see the purchase of gasoline as an interruption," says Steve Pryor, vice president for US fuels marketing. "They want to get in and out of a station quickly. Pay-at-the-pump meets this need better than anything."

MAKING A CALL IS CHEAPER IF YOU'RE AMERICAN

PARK RIDGE, N.J.

■ Americans enjoy some of the lowest telecommunications rates in the world, according to a survey by the National Utility Service, a utilities consulting firm in Park Ridge, N.J. While local telephone calls remained unchanged in the US in 1992, competition and regulatory revisions resulted in fluctuations in long-distance rates among the three major carriers – AT&T, MCI, and Sprint.

British consumers pay the most for local calls, while Italy tops the charts for international calls. But international calling charges in Europe are declining, the survey shows. European countries are trying to ward off competition in anticipation of the breakup of well-entrenched monopolies.

NEW ENGLAND

Democratic Governors Focus on Health Care

By Keith Henderson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WOODSTOCK, VT.

IN this unlikely setting – a resort town that probably has few uninsured residents – the Clinton administration did some gearing up last week for what could be its biggest selling job: the coming reform package that will aim at universal health coverage for Americans.

The keynoter at Friday's session here of the Democratic Governor's Association was the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton. Mrs. Clinton – the administration's lead person on health care – vigorously laid out the fundamental points she and the president will use to gain backing for their reforms:

■ That overhaul of the health-insurance system and economic recovery are inseparable. "This is an economic issue as well as a human one," she said.

■ That the job is too big for the federal government to accomplish by itself. She assured the 12 governors in attendance that their own efforts to deal with escalating health-care costs were appreciated by the White House and would be accommodated in the Clinton plan.

■ That the public's overriding interest is in "health security." The message here was that the promise of universal health benefits, unaffected by job change and other factors, will subordinate public worries about how the new system will be financed.

■ And that to attain this kind of security, all individuals and all businesses will have to shoulder part of the burden of paying for it. "Responsibility is at the root of what it means to be an American," said the first lady, emphasizing that everyone will have to get aboard the new reforms.

The administration's top adviser on health-care issues, Ira Magaziner, rattled off statistics that underscore the problems in the current system: Health-care costs are "eating up well over 100 percent of the total increases in workers' wages;" 50 percent of doctors' expenses are administrative costs, compared with 25 percent two years ago. The increasing mass of governmental regulation is "strangling the system right now," said Mr. Magaziner.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

FIRST LADY: *Hillary Rodham Clinton told Democratic governors that state efforts to reform health care would be included in the national plan.*

Mrs. Clinton's endorsement of a "state-flexible" national plan was heartening, said Barbara Roberts, governor of Oregon. Her state has gone farther along the reform trail than most by devising a plan that specifies which medical procedures will be paid for by government and which won't. There are "different correct answers" to the problem of health Governor Roberts told a reporter.

When it is clear that everyone will pay and everyone will benefit, she said, public support follows.

State approaches to health-care reform are remarkably varied.

Gov. Brereton C. Jones of Kentucky said his state, in order to extend coverage, had no choice but to levy a 3.75 percent payroll tax on employers who were not providing health benefits.

Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida said his state is requiring community-based insurance ratings that rule out discrimination because of individual or family medical histories.

Missouri's Gov. Mel Carnahan pointed out that his state's cost-cutting negotiations with health-care providers included an agreement to give nurses "much more latitude in giving primary care."

Tennessee has taken the extraordinary step of filing a formal request to get out of the federal medicaid program, which helps states pay for health care for the poor, in favor of its own program, "Tenn-Care."

Gov. Ned McWherter said that he is convinced that the state's "managed care" approach can control costs and take care of the needs of the "working poor" better than medicaid, with its persistent 14 to 16 percent yearly cost increases.

The Democratic governors are clearly supportive of the Clinton reform initiative – at least the outlines of it as described here.

HMS Bounty Readies for New Life as Maritime Academy

By Eric C. Evarts
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

FALL RIVER, MASS.

ON Friday, the crew of the HMS Bounty set sail for a new port – only this time the captain remained.

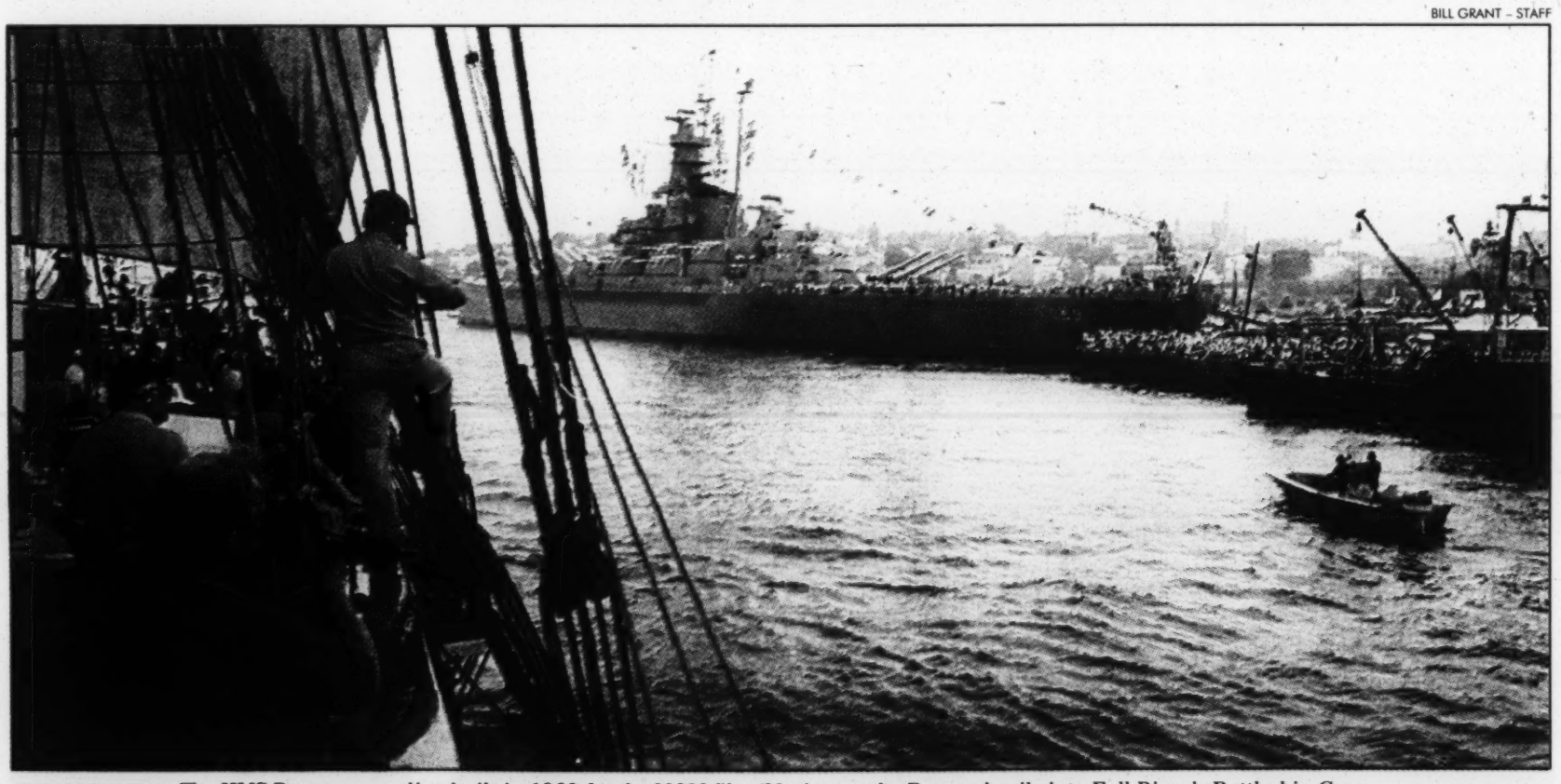
The ship is a replica of the 1780s original, built in 1960 by MGM studios for the Marlin Brando film "Mutiny on the Bounty."

Fall River challenged 40 other coastal United States cities for the right to call the Bounty native after media magnate Ted Turner announced he would give away the vessel, says Robert Boisselle, president of the Fall River Chamber of Commerce. Its plans to keep the ship sailing helped it beat even Turner's home town of Savannah, Ga.

Unlike other tall ships, which have become dockside museums, the Bounty is set to sail with students of the sea aboard, perhaps as early as next year.

Fall River is an ideal place for such a mission. A longtime-seafaring town rich with Portuguese culture, the community made a spectacular show of welcoming its new resident. The banks of the Taunton River were lined with a wall of enthusiastic onlookers; cannons cracked from the USS Massachusetts, part of the city's Battleship Cove Naval memorial; and a flotilla of pleasure boats circled the tall ship. Portuguese contra dancers topped off the festivities.

BILL GRANT – STAFF



SEAWORTHY STAR: *The HMS Bounty, a replica built in 1960 for the MGM film 'Mutiny on the Bounty,' sails into Fall River's Battleship Cove.*

Overnight the Bounty has become the hottest attraction in Fall River. The Bounty will "serve as an ambassador for Fall River," says Mr. Boisselle, sailing to other cities with tall ships they would like to trade, and drawing people here.

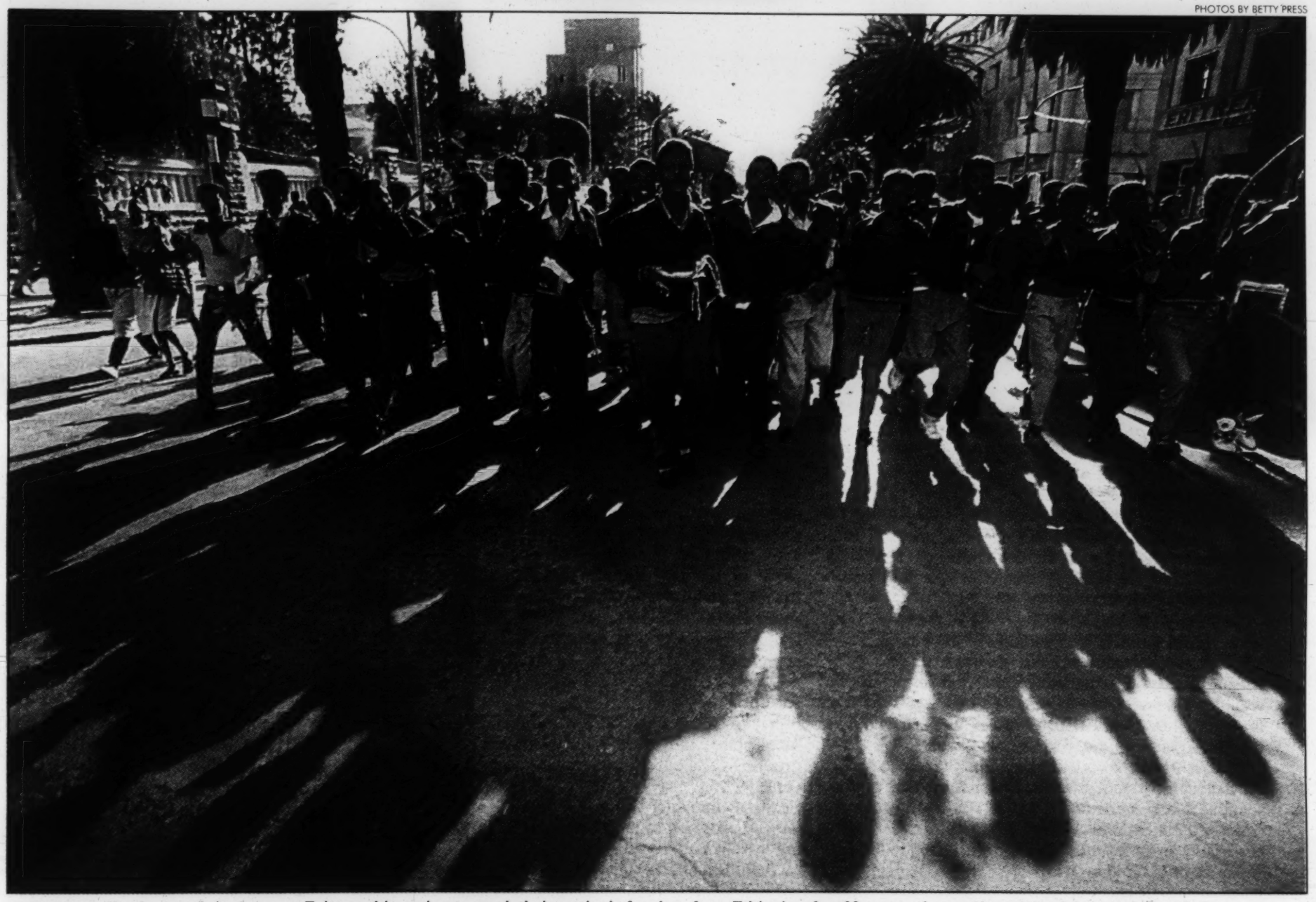
In the meantime, however, the Bounty is in need of $1.5 million worth of improvements to meet Coast Guard certification as a sailing school vessel. Through the summer it will remain in Battleship Cove taking visitors and attracting interest which officials hope to turn into investment.

When restoration is complete, according to Boiselle, the ship will teach seamanship to would-be sailors, provide a seagoing laboratory for oceanography students, and serve as a dockside facility for students studying everything from woodworking to diesel mechanics.

In addition to the concrete plans for the Bounty, one rumor permeated the community: Columbia Pictures may be looking for a tall ship for a coming movie about a woman pirate. It would be the perfect casting.

COVER STORY

PHOTOS BY BETTY PRESS



CELEBRATION: *Youths march in Asmara, Eritrea, this spring to mark their nation's freedom from Ethiopia after 30 years of war. About 1/4 of the population fled.*

Coming Home to Rebuild Eritrea

Former expatriates return to take part in the renewal of their war-torn, newly independent nation

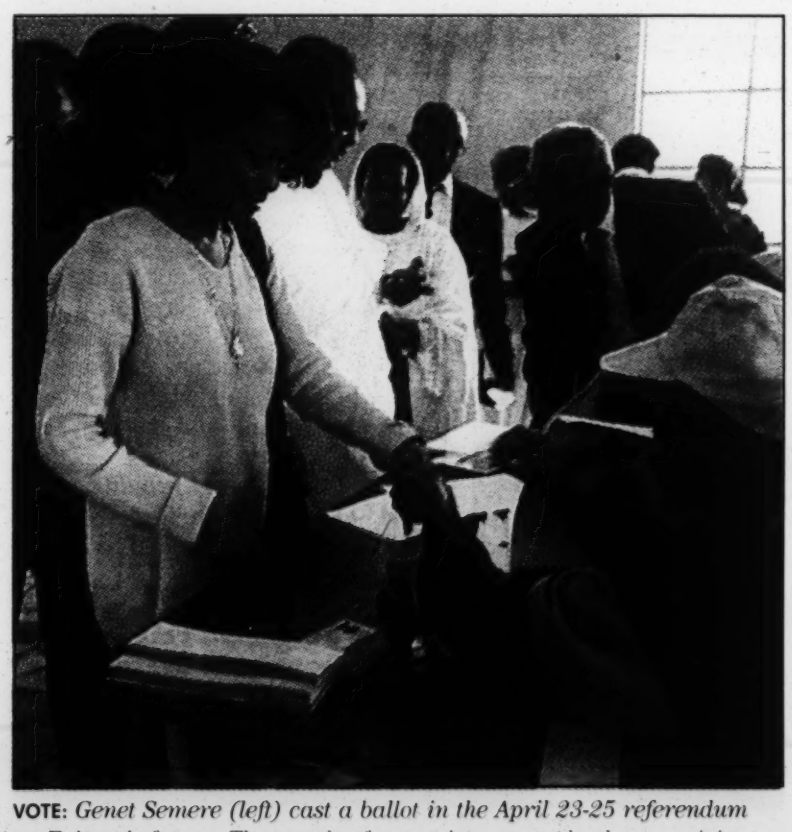
By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ASMARA, ERITREA

SHE was only 16, but Genet Semere knew she had to escape.

The Ethiopian police had arrested many of her friends – and executed some. Genet had organized demonstrations against the government, and now the police were looking for her.

It was 1977. Like most Eritreans, she was longing for the day when her people would be independent of Ethiopia. As of May 24, Eritrea has been free – but it took 30 years of fighting to win that freedom. Over the course of the war, some 750,000 Eritreans fled – nearly a quarter of the population. They escaped police persecution, as well as massive bombing raids and ground attacks by Ethiopian government troops on most Eritrean towns and hundreds of villages.



VOTE: *Genet Semere (left) cast a ballot in the April 23-25 referendum on Eritrea's future. Thousands of expatriates came back to participate. The result was an overwhelming 'yes' for independence.*

"I lost a lot of friends in the war," Genet recalled during a recent visit here from her home in the United States. Like hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other Eritreans living abroad, she had come back to participate in the April referendum on Eritrea's future. Eritreans who stayed abroad could vote absentee. The tally was a 98.5-percent "yes" vote for independence. On May 24, two years after the rebels won the war, Eritrea joyously observed its independence.

Now, despite the challenges of an extremely poor, undeveloped nation, many Eritreans living abroad want to move back, to help rebuild their country. Some already have returned.

"A lot of people want to come back and help," says Genet. Eritrea "is going to be a beautiful country soon. I want to be a part of it."

See **COVER STORY** *next page*

Many Eritreans Living Abroad Are Returning to Help Rebuild Their War-Scarred Nation

Continued from page 9

COVER STORY

Back in 1977, though, her thoughts were only of escape.

Her father, who owned an oil-tanker truck, hid her in the bed behind the driver's seat, folding it up to fool police at roadblocks. He drove her down the winding road from the Ethiopian capitol, Addis Ababa, to the Red Sea port of Assab. From there she walked to the tiny neighboring country of Djibouti, a 15-day trek, dodging police and military patrols. Discovering her escape, Ethiopian police arrested her parents. After threatening them, the police let them go. Genet emigrated to the US after a year. Now she is a micrographics specialist in Fairfax, Va.

In an interview in the dining room of the Nyala Hotel here, Genet said she was thinking of moving back. It's a dream of everyone who left, she says.

But life here for the skilled and well-settled abroad would not be easy, she notes. "We take a lot of things for granted in America. You see people here who lived without lights and water for so many years."

Still, it's not the rudimentary comforts that expatriate Eritreans would miss the most; it's the lack of good schools. Many were destroyed in the war. Today the country's educational system is stumbling to its feet, but it still lacks the high quality that educated Eritreans in developed countries have come to expect.

When Eritrea has good schools, says Genet, who has an 11-year-old son, "I'll be the first one to come."

Bekit Gerense: Starting an egg business from scratch

Some Eritreans get around the lack of good schools by moving back and leaving their families abroad. Bekit Gerense, for example, returned in May 1991, but left his wife and children in Hanover, Germany. "I returned five days after liberation," he says, standing proudly in front of some of the 500 new metal cages, freshly painted red, that soon will hold some 2,000 chickens. Mr. Bekit, a trained mechanic and electrician, is launching one of Asmara's new businesses – a chicken and egg wholesale enterprise.

There have been a few poultry firms before in Eritrea, but this is the first one to use local materials in the construction, says Tedros Demoz, Eritrean manager of a German-financed program to help Eritreans living in Germany resettle here.

Bekit has already hired three workers and plans to hire seven more. He also intends to use the chicken manure as a biogas source to heat water in his house, use solar panels for the incubators, and eventually build a second poultry house and perhaps the kind of truck and auto repair garage he ran before he fled Ethiopia in 1975.

From 1975 to 1981 he worked in Sudan in the transportation department of the rebels who won the war, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). In 1981 he went to Germany, where he was granted political asylum.

Bekit's poultry business will not be a big operation, but it's the kind of business others can emulate, especially with the help of start-up loans offered by the German government. Eritrean officials hope other countries will copy the German program to help more Eritrean refugees return home.

The rebuilding task facing Eritrea is enormous. "We have accumulated problems, not solutions," says Mr. Tedros of the legacy of a war-shattered nation. But returnees like Bekit are encouraging, he says. "He'll be an example to others willing to make small- and medium-scale enterprises," he says.

As for Bekit, he is running full steam ahead, after years in forced exile. "We have to build Eritrea from A to Z," he says. "I'm really happy."

Cahsai Berhane: 'This is the most stable country' in the region

At City Park Cafe here, on one of Asmara's broad boulevards, Eritreans gather for refreshment and discussion at outdoor tables under the shade of palm trees. Cahsai Berhane, an industrial consultant who moved back here last year from Brussels, is among them. Because of the housing crunch, he's living in a small room of his niece's home.

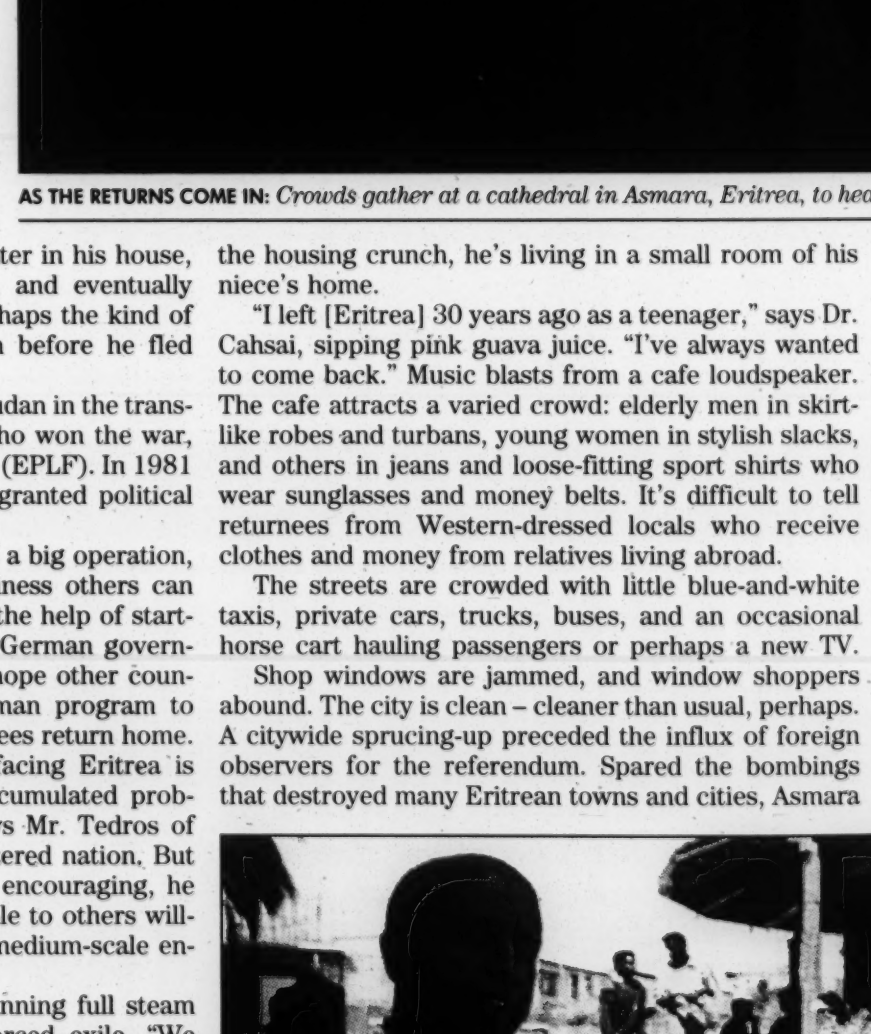
"I left [Eritrea] 30 years ago as a teenager," says Dr. Cahsai, sipping pink guava juice. "I've always wanted to come back." Music blasts from a cafe loudspeaker. The cafe attracts a varied crowd: elderly men in skirt-like robes and turbans, young women in stylish slacks, and others in jeans and loose-fitting sport shirts who wear sunglasses and money belts. It's difficult to tell returnees from Western-dressed locals who receive clothes and money from relatives living abroad.

The streets are crowded with little blue-and-white taxis, private cars, trucks, buses, and an occasional horse cart hauling passengers or perhaps a new TV.

Shop windows are jammed, and window shoppers abound. The city is clean – cleaner than usual, perhaps. A citywide sprucing-up preceded the influx of foreign observers for the referendum. Spared the bombings that destroyed many Eritrean towns and cities, Asmara

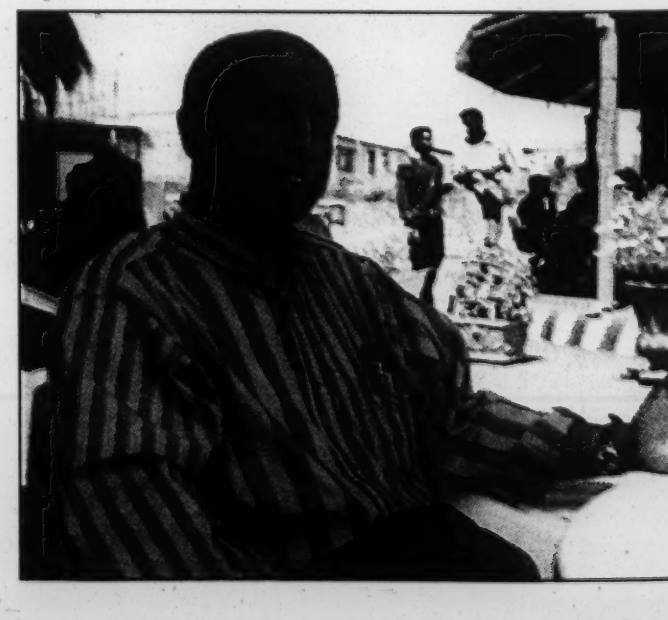
'We have to build Eritrea from A to Z, [but] I'm really happy. I'm starting to work like a teenager.'

– Poultry entrepreneur Bekit Gerense



AS THE RETURNS COME IN: *Crowds gather at a cathedral in Asmara, Eritrea, to hea*

ENTREPRENEUR: *Bekit Gerense, a mechanic and electrician seen standing in front of his new chicken cages, is starting a poultry-and-egg business.*



PHOTOS BY BETTY PRESS

to hear the results of this spring's referendum on independence from Ethiopia.

f his is unexpectedly attractive, safer than most African cities, and extremely friendly.

s Dr. "This may be a paradox," says Cahsai, "but after 30 nted years of war, this is the most stable country [in the aker. region]."

skirt-

acks, **Ahmed Tahir Baduri: Trying to resettle** who **hundreds of thousands of refugees**

o tell "All the Eritreans are eager to come back," says ceive Ahmed Tahir Baduri, who heads the Commission for Eritrean Refugee Affairs (CERA). "The problem is the white economy in Eritrea. People cannot sustain themselves ional if they come [en masse]," he says in his office at CERA TV. headquarters, a two-story building a few blocks from pers the cafe. Commissioner Ahmed stands up, walks haps. around his desk, and gestures to a glass-covered table. reign Under the glass is a large map of Eritrea, with about pings 100 locations marked with dots. Each dot represents a mara village that was destroyed in the war.

'I left 30 years ago as a teenager. I've always wanted to come back. This may be a paradox, but after 30 years of war, this is the most stable country [in the region].'

– Cahsai Berhane

Of the estimated 750,000 Eritreans living outside the country today, some 100,000 are in Saudi Arabia, where many have found at least low-level jobs. Another 500,000 refugees, most of them former herders and farmers, are just across the border in Sudan. Most would like to return, but lack livestock, seeds, tools – the essentials to start over, Mr. Ahmed says.

The government plans to repatriate most of those in Sudan over the next three years, and is counting on substantial foreign help to do so. A hasty, unsupported return could lead to social unrest, Ahmed notes.

Even if the government can provide livestock and farming supplies, many will demand more, he adds: education, water, and health services – things they have had at least a little of in the refugee camps in Sudan. On the plus side, the refugees would spark a major increase in food production.

Jamal Ahmed Moussa: 'I'm jobless. How can I survive?'

One of some 80,000 Eritreans who have come back from Sudan without government help is Jamal Ahmed Moussa, who was there from 1971-91. "I'm happy to come back to be a citizen, rather than a refugee," he says, as he sits on a bench in the wide median strip of an Asmara boulevard. But life here is tough, he says. "I'm jobless. How can I survive?" He lives with his mother, who receives a small stipend for her years of cooking and washing clothes for the Eritrean rebels. His mother, like many Eritrean parents, lost track of her son in the confusion of displacement in the long war. "She was very happy to find me alive," he says.

He is applying for a job as a driver, though he lacks the money to pay for a license. But, he adds: "Home is better – even if you are hungry."

Tedros Tekle: A former rebel fighter has settled permanently abroad

Not all Eritreans would agree. Some who came back from abroad to vote have no plans to move here.

"I'm settled," says Tedros Tekle, who works for a cable-TV company in Denver and is married to an American. He was a rebel fighter from 1974 to '78. His sister, Fikadu Lucas, and brother, Kibrom Kiros Tekle, are still in the military. She was wounded twice in the war. Another brother and sister died in the fighting.

Mr. Tedros returned for the April referendum – his first visit in 20 years. At the airport, his father had to ask friends if that man was really his son. They wept as they embraced. "It felt like joy tears," Tedros says.

At the time of this interview, Tedros had been reunited with his sister only three hours earlier. They were sitting together in a hotel lobby, his arm around her shoulder.

A fighter for the past 19 years, she was only 13 when Tedros left. "If I'd met him in the street, I'd never have re membered him," she said, sounding surprisingly shy for a fighter. "When I saw him, I cried a lot. Now we're going to start where we left off."

Berhane Mesfin: Rekindling chiildhood memories in a mud-walled home

Berhane Mesfin, an engineer who moved back here in early 1992 from Germany, is starting over, too, in several ways.

Well-educated, articulate, and skilled, the elevator contractor clearly represents Eritrea's economic future – but he wants to be heard politically as well.

"We need a kind of government that opens up" to ideas from returnees, Mr. Berhane says.

"This bondage has to be broken," he adds, referring to the tight clique of mostly ex-rebel leaders running the country.

He points to an "ineffective taxation system," and the government's dual exchange rate, which he says contributes to inflation.

"If we don't take the risk to try to correct things," he says, "and [instead] look for higher profits ... it won't help the country." He is trying to jump start this shaken nation economically and politically. Meanwhile, he is also rediscovering his Eritrean roots.

"You see that blue door over there?" he says, walking through a maze of dirt passageways, accompanied by a friend, a reporter, a photographer, and a polite but playful troupe of barefoot children, "That's where I used to live."

The homes in his old neighborhood are are mud-walled; this is one of the oldest and poorest sections of Asmara – a city better-known for its modern, brightly painted villas and shaded avenues.

With some hesitation, and after an invitation from the current owner, Berhane walks into the one-room residence, his childhood home. As he reminisces, I ask to see an adjacent, similarly sized home.

Inside the clean, neatly arranged, small room are a table with a blue and red plastic tablecloth, several chairs, and two beds for the four residents. An oil drum in the corner serves as a grain storage bin. On the walls hang plates and kitchen utensils, and small rugs and magazine clippings. Electricity and water are available just outside the door, in the dirt compound.

Eritrea – whether it is the land of the farmer, the city of childhood memories, or the promise of freedom in a new country – calls to its dispersed people. Some will resist the call. But for many more, the question is not whether to move back, but when. ■

THIRTY YEARS LATER: *Berhane Mesfin (r.) stands in front of his childhood home with a friend and a woman who lives there now. He left Eritrea as a teen.*

'We need a kind of government that opens up' to ideas from returnees. 'This bondage has to be broken.'

– Elevator contractor Berhane Mesfin

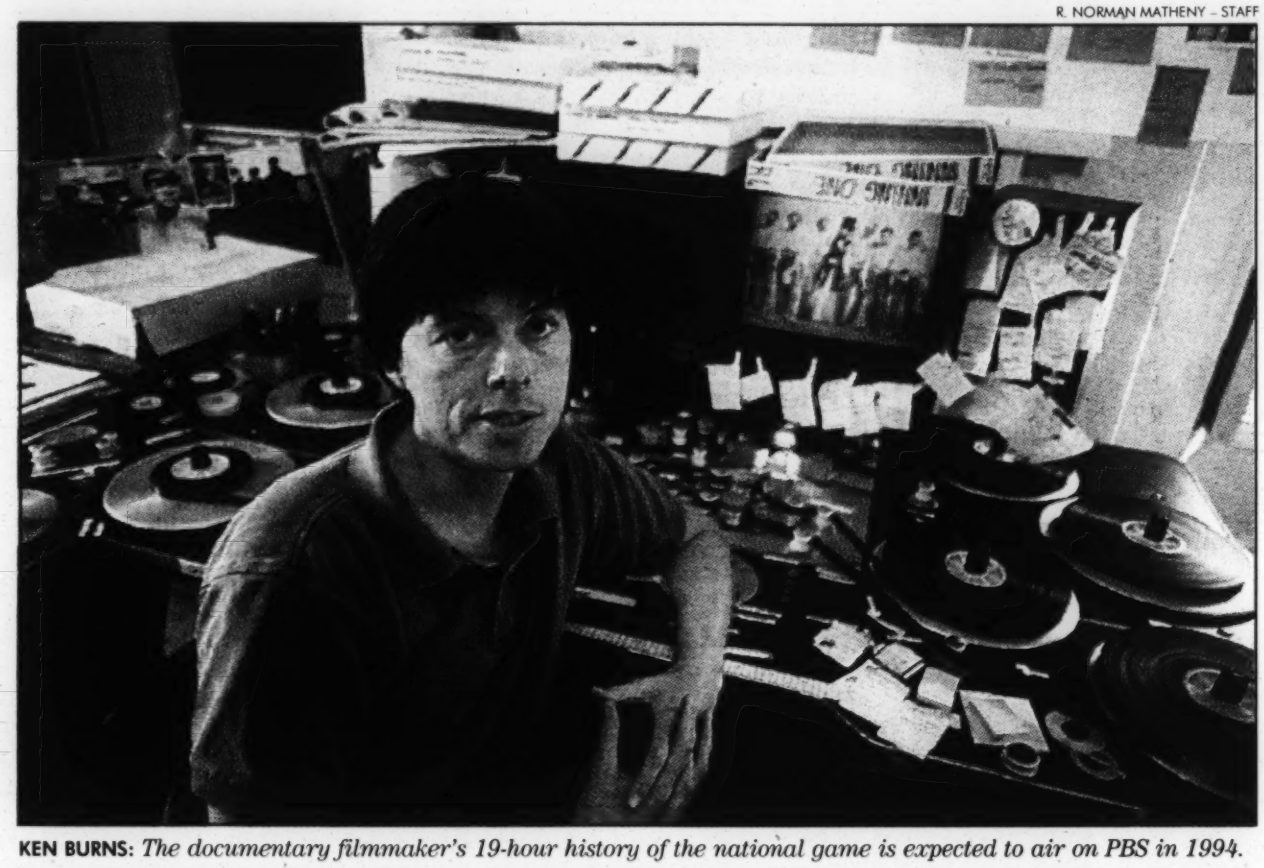
INTERVIEW

Filmmaker Ken Burns takes on the national sport in a new TV documentary

Baseball as an American Metaphor

By Keith Henderson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
WALPOLE, N.H.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



KEN BURNS: *The documentary filmmaker's 19-hour history of the national game is expected to air on PBS in 1994.*

DOCUMENTARY filmmaker Ken Burns says his films are like children. "I have no favorites," says Mr. Burns, whose projects, after hundreds of hours of research and editing, take final shape inside two antique white colonial houses in this Connecticut River Valley town.

"Certainly, 'The Civil War' was an 800-pound gorilla, but I have great affection for every film I make, and I know their strengths and weaknesses," he says.

The latest Burns creative offspring being "incubated" in Waipole is a 19-hour documentary history of baseball. It is scheduled to air on the Public Broadcasting System in the fall of 1994. Nineteen hours is long even by this filmmaker's standards. 'The Civil War' was 11 hours.

"I'm always surprised by how long these things get," Burns says, breaking into a grin. "The Civil War was supposed to be five hours."

Few viewers complained about that film's length, however. It was popular beyond anyone's expectations, including its maker's. Using first-person commentary, music, and contemporary photos, Burns was able to shatter every preconception about viewers' short attention spans and lust for live action. He is confident that the history of baseball will prove similarly compelling.

The basis of that confidence, one senses, is the filmmaker's own thorough engagement with his subject. His goal, he says, is to tell the story well.

"The emotional content – that's what makes it stick," Burns says. And baseball, he explains, is a story rich in emotion, tradition, mythology, and, of course, corruption and scandal.

The game is "a mirror of who we've been and who we've become," Burns says. "It's a precise reflection of an age – for instance, the greed of the '80s – and at the same time we want it to be morally what we'd like to be, the good old days." Of course, baseball and the men who play it have rarely been able to live up to those hopes. The criticism has always been there, he says, mentioning an 1869 quote in which the writer laments that baseball "isn't what it used to be."

The wealth of written and filmed material since the New York Knickerbockers played the first bona fide baseball game on New Jersey's Elysian Fields in 1846 is one reason this documentary has been six years in the making. To that rich vein, Burns has added more than 80 taped interviews of his own. "It's the most complicated thing I've ever done in my life," he says.

"The Civil War had a beginning and an end. It was four years. Here, there's no obvious beginning and, hopefully, no end," says the filmmaker, analyzing his organizing task. "What we leave out is torturous to us."

Some outstanding players, like first-baseman George Sisler, probably won't make the cut, while some little-known figures, like Fred Snodgrass, who missed an easy fly ball to lose the 1912 World Series, will make it. Burns found Snodgrass's quote after the mishap irresistible: "I just dropped the darned thing." Every Little League right fielder who has ever misjudged a fly can sympathize.

Baseball's multilayered history includes "tremendous humor," comments Burns as he whips off some immortal words from Yogi Berra: "When you get to the fork in the road, take it." He recalls that some historians to whom he gave an early viewing of parts of the film both laughed and cried as the parade of "wonderful characters" associated with the game went by.

"If the Civil War was the American Iliad, a spasmodic battle that defined who we are, then baseball is the Odyssey – it's the returning home," says Burns, carefully choosing his epic metaphors. "Home" refers both to the game's literal purpose – to get the runner home – and to things close to the national heart.

In the spacious old house in downtown Walpole where the editing is done, editors' consoles and racks of film fill former parlors and bedrooms. Boxes of interview footage are stacked in closets and on shelves. Around the upper sections of the walls, taped sheets of paper outline the nine "innings" the documentary will be broken into.

'If the Civil War was the American Iliad, a spasmodic battle that defined who we are, then baseball is the Odyssey – it's the returning home.'
– Ken Burns

Even with hundreds of clips left on the floor, Burns estimates that viewers will get to know 50 or 60 players "intimately." The greats – Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, and others – will be there, with all their marvelous talents and human failings.

Burns also had long conversations with some "legends" who are still around, such as Ted Williams. He found Williams "witheringly honest" and helpful on such subjects as efforts to bring black players into the major leagues.

The game's struggle with the color line will be closely examined, through both Jackie Robinson's integration of baseball and a look at the old Negro leagues. In the world of baseball, Robinson was "a combination of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Battle of Gettysburg," Burns says.

The documentary will also look at what Burns thinks may be the game's biggest scandal: the team owners' long perpetuation of a contract system that held players in what the filmmaker calls "wage slavery" and tended to "fix" pennant outcomes.

Burns, who mixes geniality with a steely sense of purpose, also has strong words for current efforts to speed up baseball and make it more appealing to the modern fan.

"In typical American fashion, we're trying to change the game and make it more like other sports," he says, calling this "an horrendous movement." One of baseball's strengths, he says, is its thoughtful pace, in which clocks are out and "the spaces count," just as in music.

Burns is a firm believer in the therapeutic effects of history. "If you can help baseball know where it has been," he says, "then maybe you can help it decide where it should go."

MYSTERIES FILL BOOKSTORES

MIAMI BEACH

■ With thousands of mystery books in print, and millions of people – including President Clinton – reading them, mysteries are probably the fastest growing segment of the fiction market.

Authors like Agatha Christie and John MacDonald, Ellery Queen and Dashiell Hammett have had followings for decades. But the genre has boomed over the past four or five years.

Booksellers say that more than 100 stores across the United States now specialize in mysteries and the related suspense, police, and spy novels.

According to Mystery Writers of America Executive Director Priscilla Ridgway, the list expands to 550 when general bookstores with strong mystery sections are counted.

"The mystery has had a huge takeoff as a genre," Chuck Robinson, president of the American Booksellers Association, said during the group's recent convention in Miami Beach. "And I see some very eclectic readers."

The US president is among them. His vicarious sleuthing has added further luster, at least to authors whose books have been photographed tucked under the presidential arm – Walter Mosley, Jonathan Kellerman, and Sara Paretsky, among others.

"Mystery readers are well-educated and they read a lot – mystery fiction is not the entertainment of not-very-bright people," says Mary Helen Becker, owner of the Booked for Murder Ltd. store in the college town of Madison, Wis.

Mysteries are not really a single genre. There are the old-fashioned hard-boiled detective mysteries, the amateur sleuth story, the police procedural, the spy novel, and the "cozy," as the trade dubs stories with blunt instruments and little blood.

In the past few years, as more varied authors have begun penning these tales, the sub-categories have multiplied – the western-oriented mystery, à la Tony Hillerman, the romantic mystery, like those of Mary Higgins Clark, and the modern female detectives, created by such authors as Sue Grafton.

Both readers and authors cite two overriding reasons for the mystery's popularity – first, that it has a clear beginning, middle and end, and second, that justice prevails.

"The good guy wins and the bad guy loses," says William Caunitz, whose fifth police novel, "Cleopatra Gold," is due out soon. A former New York City cop, he says it doesn't always turn out that way in real life.

– Reuter

BOOKS

Winston Churchill Goes to War

Contemporary reports by the British leader and those who knew him

By Joseph C. Harsch

MARTIN GILBERT, Winston Churchill's official biographer, has achieved an unusual and marvelously effective framework for the story of Churchill and World War II by telling it exclusively through the comments of the time.

"The Churchill War Papers, Vol. I: At the Admiralty, September 1939-May 1940" is not a historian telling his version of a great man and his times. It is the Churchill war story as it emerges from the things Churchill wrote and said, interspersed with what others wrote or said to him or about him at the time.

The effect is to make the reader an unseen presence at Churchill's side as he leads and manages his country into the war from an almost helpless beginning toward ultimate triumph.

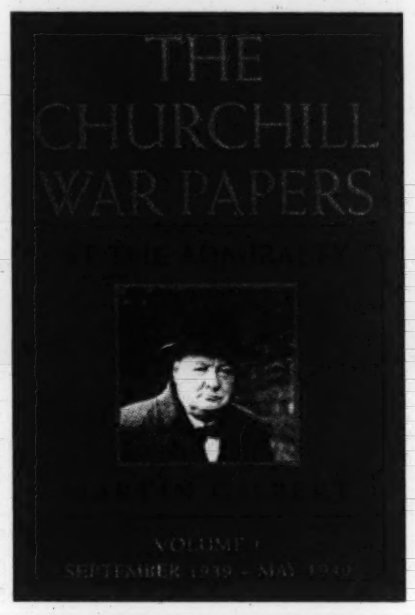
The narrative starts on Sept. 3, 1939, the day Britain's ultimatum to Hitler to cease his invasion of Poland expired. The first entry is an account by Churchill's police bodyguard, detective constable W. H. Thompson.

"Within a few minutes of Chamberlain's broadcast telling the nation that we were at war with Germany, the air raid sirens sounded over London.

"Churchill went outside and started staring at the sky. What thoughts must have been crowding into his mind at that moment! It was with difficulty that we prevailed upon him to enter an air-raid shelter. He only agreed to go when it was pointed out that it was up to him to set an example."

During the rest of that first day of the war, Churchill went to the House of Commons; made the best speech of the day, which inspired both the House and later, the nation; was summoned to the prime minister's office; was invited to join the War Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty (his old job from World War I); attended the first War Cabinet meeting at which his support decided the appointment of General Ironside as chief of the imperial general staff ("and that settled it"); had the staff find his favorite octagonal work table and box of charts from 1915; and ordered up in succession a report on all German U-boats, a report on the number of rifles in the possession of the Navy "both afloat and ashore," and a list of the escorts for "the big convoy to the Mediterranean."

In between, he presided over a meeting of the Board of Admiralty and received numerous letters, one of which predicted that his speech that day would inevitably make him prime minister.



THE CHURCHILL WAR PAPERS, VOL. I: AT THE ADMIRALTY SEPTEMBER 1939-MAY 1940
Edited by Martin Gilbert
W. W. Norton, 1,370 pp., $75

On that first day, his thoughts were focused on the Navy and the problem of keeping Britain supplied through the encircling fleet of German U-boats. But his attention was almost at once reaching outside his responsibilities at the Admiralty.

He began writing to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain not only about grand strategy but also about such marginal war problems as blackout rules. He thought they should be eased up.

Then, on Oct. 5, just over a month into the war, he mentioned at a Cabinet meeting that "he had received a personal message of a very friendly character from President Roosevelt." That first letter from Roosevelt had been dated Sept. 11. Why Churchill waited until Oct. 5 to tell his colleagues makes for interesting speculation. He did wait. But by Oct. 5, he was sending two messages to Roosevelt in a single day and had a telephone call back from Roosevelt that night.

This book is a must for all who care about how Winston Churchill led Britain into World War II and kept it there.

That was too much, by far, for the Foreign Office. Lord Halifax, the foreign secretary, complained about Churchill invading Foreign Office territory. So did Prime Minister Chamberlain. One of the Admiralty private secretaries, John Higham, recalled that:

"Certainly everyone was very conscious that he [Churchill] was regarded by his colleagues as trying to take the war over. They were pretty sensitive about that. There was a feeling that the war was being run from the Admiralty War Room."

The suspicion was justified. Churchill was scolded but unreformed. He was in fact the war leader from the day he entered the Cabinet, not by the preference of the Chamberlain Cabinet, but by popular demand.

From these documents, it is abundantly clear that sooner or later he would be running the war – because he believed in it, because he could articulate the reasons for the war, and because he could make others believe with him that it could be won. He was the only man in that Cabinet who could do that.

This book covers only the first eight months of the war – from its beginning to the day when the defeat of France brought German armies to the far side of the English Channel and forced the resignation of Chamberlain from the prime ministry. Not even the publisher yet knows how may more volumes it will take to finish the war.

But this first volume is in one sense the most important of all, because it covers the period when Churchill, by sheer weight of his own talent, forced himself into the leadership against a most reluctant establishment. The principal leaders of the dominant Conservative Party – Chamberlain, Halifax, and Sir John Simon, – were appeasers. They would have avoided the war had it been possible.

The story comes through marvelously in this comprehensive collection of the documents of the time. The facts are all there. Gilbert correctly calls himself an editor, not an author. His contribution is the collection and arrangement of the documents, plus generous footnotes that identify the actual authors and, where necessary, explain references in the text.

Other than the footnotes, this is history told by those who were there in the words they spoke or wrote at the time. This book is a must for all who care about how Winston Churchill led Britain into World War II and kept it there.

■ *Joseph C. Harsch is a former columnist for the Monitor.*

Environmental Trail Sees Mixed Progress

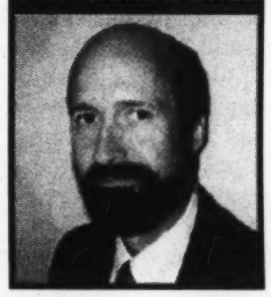
SEEN from south-central Nebraska as summer begins, the earth seems a wondrous thing. Much of the landscape along the Platte River looks the way it must have 150 years ago when families filled small wagons with provisions, said good-bye to friends they'd never see again, and headed out to Oregon. That continuity of sight and sound is one of the main things that impresses travelers on a wagon train put together to mark the sesquicentennial of the Oregon Trail.

Aside from the interstate, which parallels wagon ruts still visible along the original trail, the main environmental impact of pioneer expansion across this part of the plains seems to be relatively benign, indeed bounteous: corn that will be well past knee high by this Fourth of July and hay fields.

That's not literally true, of course, as the coal-burning power plants on the horizon, the strip mines next door in Wyoming to feed those plants, and the strip malls on the outskirts of towns attest. But time spent along the Platte is a reminder that environment and development can fit harmoniously.

Just a year ago, representatives of some 170 nations gathered in Brazil for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development – the Earth Summit – to address the world's most pressing problems as they affect the environment. There was plenty of wrangling over who is most at fault for global degradation – developing countries that have mouths to feed and economies to bolster no matter what the environmental cost or advanced countries that consume far more resources and produce far more pollution per person.

BRAD KNICKERBOCKER



But there were important results as well. International conventions on preserving biodiversity and preventing global climate change were passed. Earth Summit negotiators worked out "Agenda 21," a massive plan to address environmental and development problems on into the 21st century.

The picture in the intervening year is mixed. The main UN agencies that pay for environmental programs around the world remain underfunded. Some rich countries that promised much in Rio de Janeiro appear to be backsliding. Japan, for example, recently passed watered-down environmental legislation after powerful industry-backed government agencies prevailed.

The recent meeting in Kenya of the UN Environment Programme's governing council was a replay of the bickering between nations of North and South over what is more important: saving species and preventing pollution or improving the economies and living standards of developing countries.

But there has been progress as well. Enough countries have ratified the biodiversity and climate-change conventions (or will by the end of the year) to put them into force.

A new 53-member UN Commission on Sustainable Development has been formed and is now holding its first meeting in New York. The commission is to monitor the progress under Agenda 21 and the other Earth Summit agreements. They key question remains, however: Will it be just another UN debating society or have real teeth?

The United States, which was seen as a laggard in Rio, appears to have reasserted international leadership on the environment.

President Clinton has appointed to head the UN Development Programme (a post traditionally held by an American) James Gustave Speth, a former chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality and president of the World Resources Institute. Clinton also has created a new National Security Council post on global environmental affairs, a move that rightly recognizes environmental and natural resource issues as important to national security.

Business executives and environmentalists are among those drafting a White House plan to cut greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. Clinton also has named a 25-member Council on Sustainable Development, chaired jointly by a prominent environmentalist and a senior executive from Dow Chemical

At times it seems that progress on environmental protection moves about as slowly as those wagons along the Oregon Trail, which is about 12 miles a day. But a year after the Earth Summit, at least things appear to be going in the right direction.

EC from page 1

are no longer a simple matter of returning to economic growth.

Many economists and business leaders are talking of such steps as reduced unemployment benefits and eased regulations on labor management as the only kinds of measures for making Europe competitive in what has become a global labor market.

That is why so many European eyes will focus on Mr. Delors this morning as he delivers to EC leaders a much anticipated speech on unemployment. While the talk has been kept under unusually close wraps, officials around Europe expect Delors to take a long look at the EC's international competitiveness.

"It is quite significant that this is coming from a French Socialist," says Stanley Crossick, director of the Belmont Center for European Studies in Brussels, speaking of Delors. According to Mr. Crossick, the focus on what the Commission president will say is the result of "weak national leadership that hasn't done what it should have in policy coordination. They [European national leaders] have left everything to Delors and the Commission."

What is taking place across the Community, from Spain to Denmark, is an intense discussion of the relationship between development of an international trade economy and the EC's current difficulties. On Friday in Germany – a country with the world's shortest average work week and highest number of paid holidays – Economic Minister Günter Rexrodt declared that a substantial reform of German labor law is the only way to ensure the country's industrial survival.

But in France, especially, the topic has led to protectionist rumblings and predictions of a "fortress Europe."

In an interview in the Paris daily Le Monde, French Minister for European Affairs Alain Lamassoure called Saturday for a decision at the summit to "better defend the European economy and employment, and beyond that, the European identity."

In a weekend interview with Danish television, President Mitterrand said he supports "giving the 12 [EC countries] common rules to protect their production in the face of goods produced on the outside in social conditions that provoke such price inequalities that we will not be able to put up with the competition."

Acknowledging that such measures entailed "a form of protectionism," Mitterrand said they were needed to stave off a "revolt" in Europe of nationalism and protectionism "which would be even more fearsome."

PERHAPS the first shot in such a "revolt" came last week when the president of the National Assembly, Philippe Séguin, stung his own ruling Gaullists by accusing the government of "preparing a social Munich" – an allusion to Western appeasement of Adolf Hitler before World War II. He also called for "the death of GATT," the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, shorthand for the international trade liberalization process.

Still, most analysts do not expect such thinking to get too far. "There is a clear enough understanding in the Community that such protective measures would lead to swift reprisals from the United States and Japan, and thus a dangerous syndrome," says Philippe Moreau-Defarges, a European specialist at the French Institute for International Relations in Paris.

What, then, can this summit produce? Probably not much beyond words, Mr. Moreau-Defarges says, given the depth of the economic crisis and "the contradictions in a society that no longer knows how to finance its social system." On the one hand are companies and employers calling for reduced employment costs, and on the other "the states that feel a responsibility and the political necessity to protect their population," he adds.

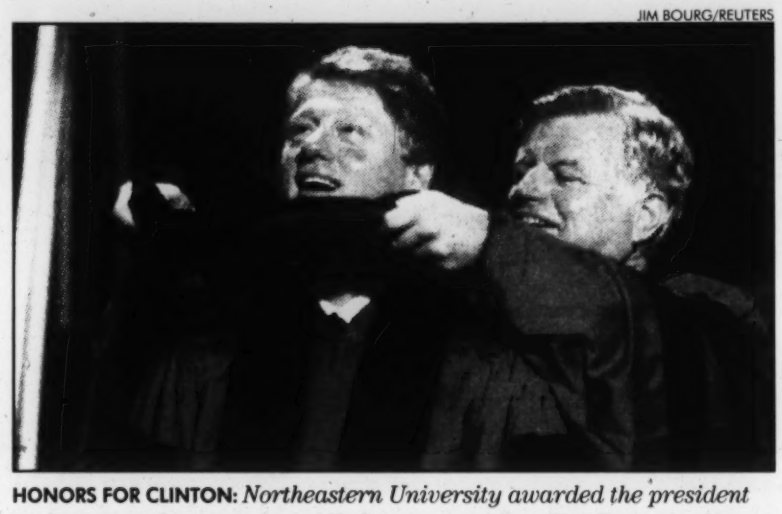
Also restricting the EC countries' margin of maneuver are their already-high budget deficits – averaging 6 percent of gross national product across the EC – and the necessity to bring them down for any country hoping to participate in the single EC currency planned for the year 2000.

"There's a lot of talk about addressing unemployment, but these countries are strangled by the single currency [qualifying] criteria and their big deficits," says Rosalind Stevens-Strohmann, a research fellow at the Policy Studies Institute in London. "But take up that issue and you're talking about the whole European integration process."

EC Commission sources say they do not expect the discussion over an eventual relaxing of the single currency qualifying criteria to be officially addressed here because of the desire to give a signal of collective spirit and action.

In addition to the economic crisis, EC leaders will discuss the ongoing GATT trade talks; relations with Central and Eastern Europe and Russia; the status of enlargement talks with four wealthy European countries (Austria, Sweden, Norway, and Finland); a French proposal for a pan-European security pact; and the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia.

JIM BOURG/REUTERS



HONORS FOR CLINTON: *Northeastern University awarded the president an honorary doctorate in public service, and Sen. Ted Kennedy slipped the hood on during ceremonies in Boston Garden Saturday morning.*

'You Deserve That Job,' Clinton Tells Graduates

BOSTON

PRESIDENT Clinton told Northeastern University graduates Saturday, "You have done your part, you deserve that job." The 2,200 graduates and their families roared in approval.

It was a perfect setting for Mr. Clinton's "rebound strategy." The school has the nation's largest work-study program and draws pupils who pay their way through college. The audience seemed moved to hear from someone whose life was challenging, who has long pushed the theme of what people can do for themselves, provided the government is a willing facilitator.

Clinton also praised Northeastern's stress on public service. He chose the university because it successfully combines education, work, and community service. "You symbolize what America is about and needs to get back to," he said.

He pleased listeners by inviting student speaker Douglas Luffborough III, a black, to the White House. He was in high school with no father, a mother pregnant with her fourth child, and his family homeless. But he enrolled at the university anyway, got a co-op job with an insurance firm, paid almost all his education, and had money left to help his family.

Clinton swiped at Republicans in Congress who seek more budget cuts. "If our growth plan gets caught in a web spun of gridlock and greed, this historic moment for America to get its fiscal house in order could slip away. You find the details hurt the middle class, the working poor, the vulnerable elderly, do less to create jobs and ensure our world economic leadership."

– David Mutch

GERGEN from page 1

to take advantage of the favorable turns of events by holding its first prime-time press conference – at Gergen's urging.

"Actually, I think it was Mr. Gergen who suggested that a lot of presidents have done it, and I ought to do it," Clinton told a few reporters after the Thursday evening press conference.

Recent positive developments for the president include:

■ The nomination of Ruth Bader Ginsburg to the Supreme Court was drawing praise from most quarters and emerging as a political credit to the president.

■ The Senate Finance Committee had reached an agreement over the economic plan that led to Friday's approval of the budget bill.

■ The filibuster over the campaign finance bill had finally been broken in the Senate.

■ And the national service bill passed committee votes in both chambers of Congress.

"Clinton had a good week this week," said Mr. Deaver on Friday, "and Gergen seized on that."

Prime-time press conferences are better than midday, he adds, because earlier ones are then interpreted by television reporters and reduced to sound bites by evening viewing hours.

Clinton also launched a more aggressive defense against critics of his effectiveness and decisiveness this week, arguing at a Tuesday press briefing: "This is the most decisive presidency you've had in a very long time on all the issues that matter."

Gergen is spending most of his work day in Clinton's presence. His schedule, says one aide, 'is basically the president's schedule.'

Clinton's defense of himself was on the front page of major newspapers Wednesday. This new approach was instigated by Gergen as well, says Mark Gearan, the new White House communications director.

Gergen is spending most of his work day in Clinton's presence. His schedule, says one aide, "is basically the president's schedule."

Gergen, whose title is counselor to the president; George Stephanopoulos, who has more time to spend at Clinton's side now that he no longer runs the communications staff; and Chief of Staff Thomas "Mack" McLarty are the three aides with almost constant access to Clinton.

Mr. Gearan describes the three as the president's general advisers, as opposed to those with specific subject areas, such as national security or economic policy.

Gearan reports directly to Gergen, whose communications role Gearan has described as to "think the big thoughts."

The particular talent Gergen brings to the White House is his ability to deal with the press while shaping the president's message. Relationships between the White House and the press corps had devolved into a steady frustration on both sides that sometimes erupted into outright hostility from the press.

The shift has been anything but subtle.

On Gergen's first day, the door to the press offices that Stephanopoulos had closed off to reporters was open again. The next weekend, the Clintons held a Sunday evening barbecue for the White House press corps on the South Lawn of the White House, greeting them in a two-hour reception line. The press office staff performed a self-mocking musical number, with Gearan on piano.

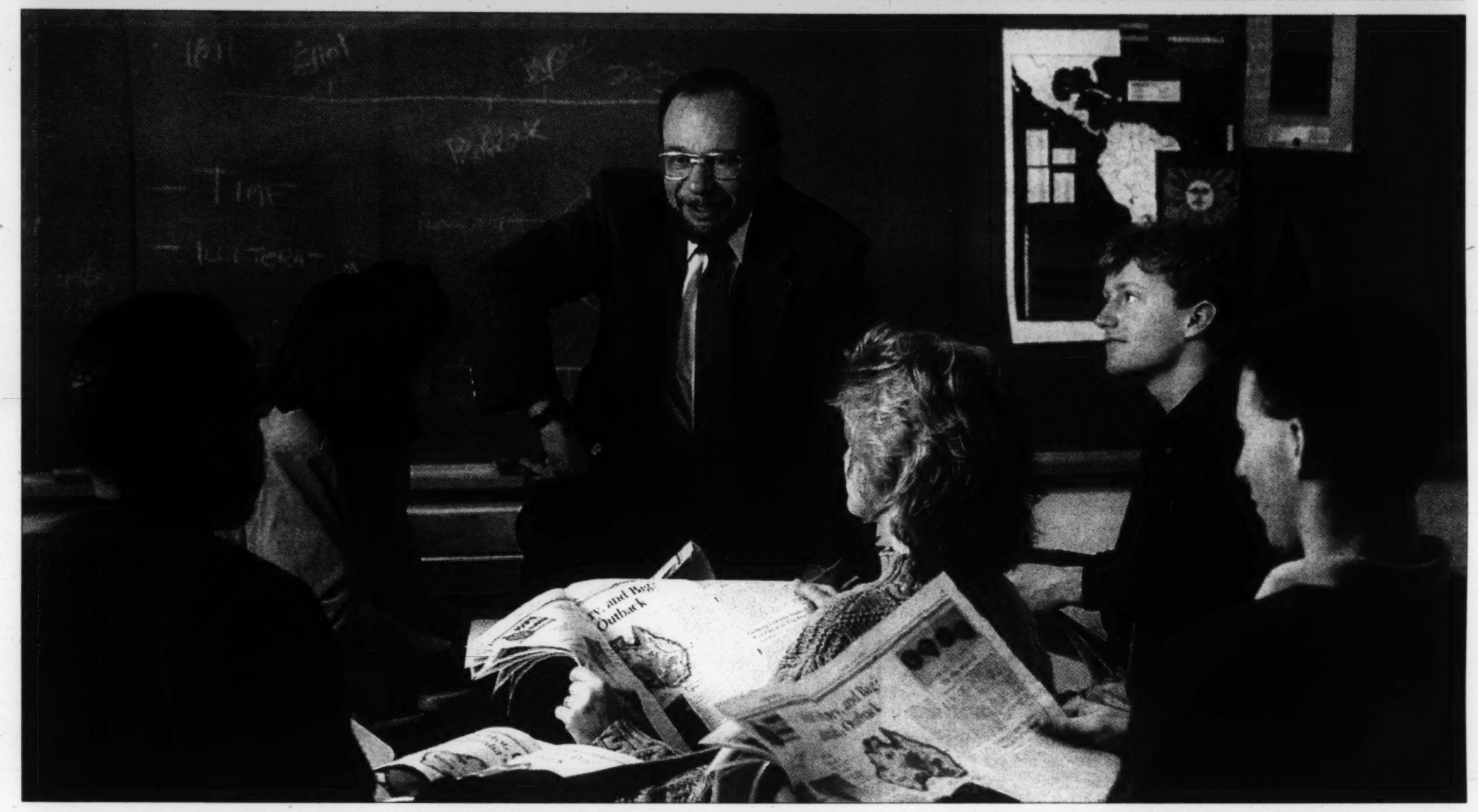
Some White House staff members thought the song would appear too blatant in playing up to the press. "I said, hey, we *are* [playing up] to the press," recounts Dee Dee Myers, White House press secretary.

These relationships do not necessarily improve the tone of stories about the White House, but they put the White House in a better position to tell their story to advantage.

"I don't think any of us operates under the misguided notion that you can [play] up to the press and get good stories done on you," says an administration official speaking on an anonymous basis. But it helps to give the press the timely access reporters need.

Gergen's great talent is as an outside analyst, Deaver says. He has a reputation for running late and being disorganized, much like his new White House patron.

He will need other skills to succeed in keeping Clinton focused and strategic, says Deaver: in-fighting, managing staff, and "getting into the president's head." His lack of in-fighting finesse helped colleagues jealous of his access to the press and his influence force him out of the Reagan White House, Deaver recalls.



CLASS ACT.

Required reading. That's what *The Christian Science Monitor* is to thousands of college students across the country. Be it poli-sci or journalism, professors have long counted on the *Monitor* to keep their students in touch with, and informed about, the world beyond their classrooms.

Why? Dedicated to accuracy and objective journalism, the *Monitor* is committed to bringing the world a little closer — to getting past the headlines and behind the scenes into the lives of the people making the news.

Reporting the facts, the feelings, and the focus with a style that encourages the reader to draw his own conclusions. The *Monitor* is a thoughtful paper for people who enjoy reading.

Add the lively features on the arts, business, science, and special views on the environment, and you get an all-encompassing, thought-provoking news source second to none.

Doesn't it make sense to make *The Christian Science Monitor* a part of your required reading? Try our introductory subscription offer today!

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

ORDER NOW AND RECEIVE THIS THREE-MONTH SUBSCRIPTION RATE!

35¢ AN ISSUE!

SAVE 44% OFF THE REGULAR SUBSCRIPTION PRICE!

YES! I'd like to subscribe to *The Christian Science Monitor* at this three-month introductory offer of only **$21.97.**

Name

Address

City, State ZIP

SEND NO MONEY. You will be billed later. Simply detach and mail this coupon to:
The Christian Science Monitor
P.O. Box 10116
Des Moines, IA 50340-0116

Attention educators: For information on the *Monitor*'s classroom subscription plan, call 1-800-876-2664.

Offer not valid for current subscribers. 63/21.97 MH3B007

CSM 2539 393

The Home Forum.

Art and Life Closely Bound

MAUD MORGAN. Over a half century ago, three major museums each purchased a painting from her first New York show. This spring, to help celebrate her 90th birthday, the Addison Gallery of American Art in Andover, Mass., honored her with its third exhibition of her work in the last 50 years.

I had the pleasure of going with Ms. Morgan to see these latest paintings. Morgan has always made and shown both abstract and realist pictures. It is one of the contradictions that defines her work and just might be the proof of her genius. To her, painting with such differentiated objectives does not show a lack of consistency, but displays a breadth of expression.

In a gallery on the upper level of the museum, eight or nine abstract paintings lined the walls with a lone self-portrait looking on from one corner. It was an uncanny installation. The windblown face in a self-portrait was firmly braced against bad weather. The painting just to its left resembled a wall, a fortress-like alter ego, the less fierce and vulnerable version of that same determined visage. Around the rest of the room hung large vertical abstractions, like open doorways. Each one overflowed, yet with incredible economy realized a striking vision in paint, one that revealed powerful emotions of anger, pain, joy, and hope.

While the style of these paintings could be described as modernist abstraction, pure form arranged in the flat space of the picture, the force of their presence springs from the passion of Morgan's life experience, which makes the work as fresh as its paint.

Although we can still sense the impact of her years of study (1932-40) with the great Abstract Expressionist painter Hans Hofmann, we can also find the lines and shapes of life happening right now all around us.

Each of the abstract paintings in this show defined an evolutionary stage in Morgan's recovery from a recent crisis. She showed me that one extreme was catastrophic and the other was peace, but even in that first stage there was glimpse of light, of hope. She explained, pointing to a painting in the middle of the series, that the Greeks had a word for this process, which like alchemy turned a base emotion into a precious one. This painting represented a pivotal point in the healing process, where painting itself became an alchemical experience.

"I was fascinated by the thought that the emotion, which is so terrific, and can't go any further, slips over. So emotionally ... that was the period of change," she says. Ironically, it was the force of crisis that brought the paintings together. "These were nonstop: When I finished one, I stretched a canvas and went on to the other, with no interval.... I've never had a sequence like that, that was so united. And that's why I'm so excited."

MORGAN has completed but has not yet published her life story. It is a beautifully worded account of her experience with art and artists, into which she has mixed stories of growing up in New York City and the Canadian countryside and memories of painting her very first painting in Paris, marriage, family, divorce, and world travels. The language of it is as bold, frank, and colorful as her paintings. It is one more example of how completely her life and art are bound up together.

The first time I met Maud Morgan, I couldn't help but notice how much she looked at everything, how open her eyes were, how she seemed to drink in what she saw. The sparkle in her eyes greeted the world as if it were a new morning. I thought to myself, "Well of course, she is an artist, in mind, body, and spirit! She wouldn't miss anything." And it would seem that she hasn't.

These recent paintings are in so many ways an affirmation. And they are a challenge. Yes, we can all live this long, work this long, if we can find it in ourselves. We can make it all count.

When I look at the work of this artist, the abstractions, I get a wonderful sense of being tuned into the poetry of nature, as though, like Leonardo da Vinci, she carefully observed a flight of swallows and then resolved to make a painting fly. Not by simulation, but by assimilation. That is the experience. Maud Morgan thinks life is special, and her paintings tell us so, again, and again, and again.

Addison Parks

REPRODUCTIONS COURTESY OF BARBARA SINGER FINE ART, CAMBRIDGE, MA.

'ENANTIODROMIA' (1991): *Oil on canvas (above), 42 by 30 in.*
'FACING THE STORM' (1993): *Oil on canvas (below), 14 by 25 in., both paintings by Maud Morgan.*

Connected by a Timeless Tune

'GRUNGE is in. Metal glam is out," my daughter Jessica tells me. Actually, she shouts it into my ear above the talk and the jukebox in the bar.

Metal glam is the old Alice Cooper shtick, where the guys are literally wigged out and have elaborate costumes. Grunge, my daughter explains, is a back-to-earth, basic sort of journey.

The stage lights come on. Jessica clutches my arm. "They're starting. Come stand up front with me."

I am the only person over 30 in the bar, here as my daughter's escort, because she is underage. I follow her and stand in the crowd directly in front of the band.

Music begins and the singer snakes across the stage. He moves with tai-chi grace and lioness intensity. The audience faces the stage and sways like reeds in an odd wind. Their movement is studied, feet flat on the floor, hands in pockets or hanging by their sides.

Movement starts with the head, a nodding, a rhythmic "yes" that affirms and punctuates the guitars and drum. Like a domino effect, the dancing gets more charismatic, catching people's shoulders and chests, so that their upper bodies are quietly undulating. Rows of people, heads tossing, hands in pockets, echo the band with their bodies. The singer stomps the stage as though he is demolishing a persistent cockroach.

It would be easy for me to be unhappy in this smoky, din-filled room. My legs tire from standing, my eyes water from the cigarette fumes, my ears ring from the incessant, demanding sound levels.

It would be easy to say, "This is not music."

But no one can judge another's beat, another's wishful rhythm, another's dance. When I see the animated, laughing faces change instantly to serious contemplation, when I see the passionate way they drink in the song, I want to know more.

What do they hear when they listen?

As a child, I danced to the Peer Gynt suite in my empty living room. I let go of the awkward girl my mother constantly cautioned, and I embraced a sylphlike dancer who carried the music inside her, whose dance was breath, not performance. I wore my mother's old evening dress and tied scarves to my arms to create the illusion of great beauty.

The grunge singer is dressed in a hooded black sweat shirt. His hair is sparse and spiked, his glasses belong to a calculus major. After the third song, he takes off the hood. After song six, he instigates a "midset costume change," which consists of him taking off his black knit cap and replacing it with a backwards baseball cap. My daughter watches, transfixed.

No one can judge another's beat, another's wishful rhythm, another's dance. As a child, I danced to the Peer Gynt suite.

I, too, am transfixed. I can be part of this crowd by simply standing close and nodding my head. It is a stress-free invitation to dance. Many of my friends are scared of dancing, ashamed of their awkward feet. Grunge dancing has solved that. The feet stay like mountains in the wind, and the shoulders dance like eagles on a breeze. The differences that keep all of us in the bar separate shimmer and relax.

"Did you like it?" Jessica asks afterward, as we walk with the crowd out into cold fresh air.

"Yes," I answer, surprised at myself. "But I didn't understand the words. What was he saying?"

"He was just talking," she says, taking my arm.

"Was he talking about sex, politics, drugs?" I ask.

"Just talking," she says, shrugging.

I let go of my need to capture and categorize. These are sounds for the animal within, for the primal spiral of life that floats between us.

I remember, when I was a teenager, my Russian grandmother sitting on our sofa as our family watched the Beatles on television. The music thrilled me, although I knew better than to show my excitement. I sat on the floor, as close to the television as I was allowed, and drank in what was on the screen.

My parents shook their heads.

"Arrhythmic noise," my father said.

"Rubbish," my mother agreed.

My grandmother smiled at me and tapped her fingers discreetly to the music.

Jessica and I walk to our car, unhurried even in the cold. We are tied together in a timeless tune, connected in a way that reaches beyond our family system, beyond the mundane hurts and hollows, into deeper paths.

"Isn't he gorgeous?" Jessica asks, sighing, pressing her face against our car window.

I think of the singer's strong arms, the earnest face, the endless flow of his body. I think of how he poured himself into the audience and asked for nothing in return.

"Yes," I say, "he is."

I am my grandmother's granddaughter, wanting more than words to show myself, more than talk to express my feelings. The more I listen, the closer I come to knowing. I see my daughter's absorption, her passion, and I nod my head, in a moment of music, a moment of love.

Deborah Shouse

Trees Full of Wind

They are made for it,
Bending, sieving, slowing
The energy – a wild
Conducting, ushering
What passes invisibly
Into the sensual world –
Afterwards, deep roots
Tremble with the memory
of dancing.

Robin Chapman

It's Raining Too Hard

It's raining too hard to go out for flowers
so we will set the table with these
yellow lemons glazed with sun,
with orange globes, plus green leaves
of lettuces for a salad, bright
with oils from California and Greece
sprinkled with warm Syrian spice.
It's raining outside but inside
our table is lit with all kinds of light.

Diana Der-Hovanessian

Life Without Chance

HUMAN life seems to be based on chance—when and where we were born, who our parents were, circumstances beyond our control, income, and so forth. Can this really be the correct picture? If we accept that this is the real basis of life, it would mean that either there is no God or else He doesn't have a great deal of power to care for His children.

But there is another way of viewing life. An accurate one that we find in the Bible. It sees life as spiritual, as the very emanation of God, Spirit. This view is the exact opposite of the one that says man is just a creature of chance. It affirms that man is entirely good because he is made in God's image and likeness. It assures us that man is made by—and completely governed by—God. Christ Jesus consistently taught this view of man as created by God and showed how this view heals all kinds of ills.

If we view life from a material basis, it appears that there are whole segments of humanity that will never overcome insecurity, injustice, limitation. But in our hearts we know that this can't be the truth. If we've felt God's love for us even once in our own lives, we have some assurance that He does care for His children. The Bible teaches that God is good, that He is all-powerful, and that He loves His children. Because this is true, all individuals, families, and countries have God's care available to them.

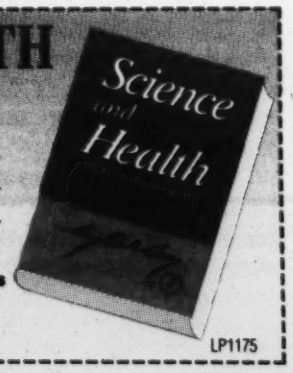
The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Several years ago, while I was struggling with what seemed to me to be an overwhelming load of problems, I learned what it means to rely on God's care. I felt that I had acquired some very unattractive habits from my parents, who had learned them from their parents, and so on. And I could see no way to break this cycle of self-destructive thinking and behaving.

Even a heroic effort to change, I realized, would have minimal results if made as a member of a human family from the basis of identifying myself with a predisposition to undisciplined, self-destructive behavior. But as I prayed, it dawned on me, almost as though someone had turned on a light, that God would not create whole families doomed to lead limited, unsatisfying lives. I realized that I could do as the Bible urges in Isaiah: "Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by names by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power; not one faileth." I saw that it was God who calls me by my name, who identifies me. I am the child of God, am spiritual, created by Him to have dominion over all the earth. And this was true of everyone—including everyone in my family!

With this insight I resolved to reject all suggestions that these unattractive traits were inherent in my, or anyone's, nature. Instead, I would endeavor to affirm consistently and persistently the fact that my nature is the reflection of God's being. Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered Christian Science, writes in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures:* "In Science man is the offspring of Spirit. The beautiful, good, and pure constitute his ancestry. His origin is not, like that of mortals, in brute instinct, nor does he pass through material conditions prior to reaching intelligence. Spirit is his primitive and ultimate source of being; God is his Father, and Life is the law of his being." I realized that I don't have a history based on human parents and grandparents. My entire heritage is from God, and it's all good.

In the years since this realization came, there has been marked progress in many areas. Limitations of many kinds have been overcome. I've successfully held jobs I wouldn't have thought myself capable of before. And life has become a wonderful spiritual journey of progress and victory.

SCIENCE AND HEALTH
with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy
This 700 page book is the complete statement of Christian Science.
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
Write to Science and Health, P.O. Box 1875, Boston MA 02117
or Call 1-800-633-1300 Orders only
VISA®, MasterCard®, checks accepted or "bill me." $14.95 postpaid.
Mail orders from outside the U.S. will be billed in local currency.


LP1175

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIAL

Harassment's Double Risk

JUST days before a national study was released this month reporting rampant sexual harassment in schools, a popular math teacher in Fairfax County, Va., committed suicide. He had been accused of making an inappropriate comment to a female student and feared that school officials would find him guilty of sexually harassing her.

Although no connection exists between the suicide and the study by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, the coincidence of the two events serves as a warning. Heightened awareness of sexual harassment at work and in school marks an important step in taking the issue seriously and in changing attitudes and behavior. But if that awareness gets blown out of proportion, a very real danger exists that charges may produce damaging or even devastating consequences.

According to the study, 81 percent of public-school students in grades 8 through 11 claim to have been the object of some form of sexual harassment, ranging from physical contact to sexual comments. Even if those figures are correct – critics of the survey point out that its claims are far higher than findings of other studies – it serves no useful purpose to students or teachers to create a climate of siege and suspicion in which every look or gesture, every slightly uncomfortable situation is taken as a personal affront and becomes grounds for a suspension, a firing, or a lawsuit. To imagine a potential harasser lurking behind every locker or sitting at every desk weakens rather than strengthens schools and relationships.

The suicide of the teacher in Virginia resembles another suicide exactly a year ago in Wellesley, Mass. Last June a well-respected police officer was accused of spanking, then improperly kissing a 10-year-old boy. The officer left notes stating that the child-abuse charges, which he insisted were baseless, had ruined his reputation.

No outsider can fairly judge the validity of the claims that led to the tragic deaths of the teacher and the police officer. However, in cases of suspected child abuse or sexual harassment, no one should encourage a witch-hunt mentality, playing "Gotcha!" with every real or imagined indignity. The more serious and consequential the charge, the more conscientious should be the investigation and evaluation in order not to create two victims instead of one.

Kind Word for Low Tech

A RETIRED car dealer from Surfside, S.C., has invented "The Great Mouth," a trash bag that will actually stay open while being stuffed – can you believe it?

Editorial pages generally deal with big-ticket items of scientific breakthrough – supercolliders, space stations. But among inventions, as elsewhere, little things count, like a trash bag that leaves both hands free to fill it.

For more than a decade, the standard grumble has been, "If we can put a man on the moon, why can't we...?" That may be the right question, but all too often, the response has been high-tech. To achieve the perfect shave, for instance, an electric shaver has been invented that self-adjusts to 576 cutting patterns.

One complex invention inevitably inspires a second invention to contain it. Thus microwave ovens have produced microwave-leakage testers, which will no doubt lead to another gadget to test if the testers are working.

Mainstream inventions – refrigerators, television sets, automobile engines – operate more reliably than ever. When did you last have to repair a radio?

On the other hand, has anyone calculated the cost of repairing devices like electric windows and power antennas on automobiles, those complicated extras that are always the first things to break down? And how about the time consumed in maintaining all the delicate little push-button apparatuses that are intended to save time? If in the name of simplicity one chooses to travel by bicycle, what does it say about progress that one must face the complexity of some 24 gears?

In the world of over-ingenious invention, as in the corporate world, there is a plausible argument for attending with a little low-tech cleverness to the modest needs of daily life.

If we can put a man on the moon, why can't we invent a spot remover that really works or suction-cup attachments that really hold? For all the flea-and-tick fighters, including ultrasound bombardment, is there a simple, safe remedy your dog or cat can count on?

As the saying goes, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to invent a "Great Mouth" trash bag; just a reusable cardboard insert does the trick. However, in the Brave New World where intelligent people have trouble programming a VCR, the old rule is not yet obsolete: Build a better low-tech invention and a lot of grateful people will beat a path to your door.

Behind the 'Politics of Meaning'

By Daniel Schorr

THIS would probably not be much of a story were it not for the intriguing involvement of President and Mrs. Clinton and what this may say about them. So let's start there.

On April 6, in Austin, Texas, Mrs. Clinton delivered what some are already calling "THE speech." It was a passionate appeal for Americans to develop a sense of community. She spoke of "cities that are filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns." She spoke of a "crisis of meaning" and urged the remolding of society by "defining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century, moving into the new millenium." What is needed, she said, is a new kind of politics,"the politics of meaning."

The "politics of meaning" is a concept of Michael Lerner, editor of Tikkun, a liberal Jewish monthly. Did Mrs. Clinton get the phrase from him? Indeed she did. At a subsequent White House reception she said to him, "Am I your mouthpiece or what?" And, "It's amazing how we seem to be on the same wavelength." In a meeting in her office she told Mr. Lerner that she and her husband had been reading him since 1988.

Lerner is an observant Jew with a strong sense of ethics. He has become a celebrity as the Clintons' spiritual adviser. He called me the other day to say he was not enjoying his celebrityhood very much, for reasons that he found puzzling and distressing. The media, not quite knowing what to make of him and his influence on the Clintons, were treating him with something close to hostility. The New Republic spoke of "psychobabble," and the New York Times magazine made him the centerpiece of an article sarcastically presenting Mrs. Clinton as "St. Hillary."

In informal discussions of the "politics of meaning," I have heard references to Lerner as "a Rasputin," and one civil-libertarian friend raised the question of whether such spiritual guidance might have implications for the separation of church and state.

What makes people so jittery about ideas of mutual responsibility and caring for one another that seem no more threatening than the Golden Rule?

If Presidents Reagan and Bush could embrace a conservative Christian ethic, why should the Clintons not be allowed their more progressive version of spiritual values?

Journalists tend to be made uncomfortable by the very abstractness of the ideas, by an inability to reduce them to concrete proposals and programs, which are the stuff of journalism.

Although most presidents and first ladies have their own friends, advisers, and even astrologers, advice from an unconventional source not spelled out in the Constitution seems unsettling. In fact, Lerner does have some concrete suggestions that he spelled out in a memo to the president: Budget requests from departments should include statements about how the programs foster caring concern. The Labor Department should send teams into the workplace to develop a spirit of mutual cooperation. Schools should teach empathy.

ALREADY Lerner is a little disappointed in the president. Just hacking away at the deficit or trying to make America more competitive, he says, will not reduce the "pain of loneliness" and "a deep sense of meaninglessness." I can understand why Michael is troubled about being met with something between bafflement and hostility in the news media. But, the White House is, for most Americans, a crucial arena. And who sets foot in that arena to influence the course of national events will, however benevolent the intention, be subjected to critical scrutiny.

■ *Daniel Schorr is senior news analyst for National Public Radio.*

Can Schools and Taxpayers Mix?

LETTERS

The article "Behind the Funding Crisis Facing US Public Schools," May 20, fairly addresses attitudes that affect public school funding. The author mentioned an important "chicken-and-egg" problem: taxpayer reluctance to pay more until performance improves, and educator insistence that improvement requires money first.

The District of Columbia provides especially poignant support for the taxpayer side. United States Department of Education data show that District of Columbia public schools lead every state in the country in per-pupil expenditures ($9,259 for the 1990-91 school year). Yet they are arguably among the worst in the US.

The same data show state expenditures varying down to less than one-third of the D.C. level. Even if one disregards Washington as an anomaly, I doubt that one can show from this data any direct correlation between performance and expenditure level. Other factors must be at work here.

The growing support for education vouchers indicates that competition may serve better than more spending.

John Dendahl ***Santa Fe, N.M.***

Cut the fashion critique

In reading "Dispute Over Faculty Has Made Harvard Law School 'Beirut on the Charles'," June 7, I was struck by the description of Inga Bernstein as "short-haired, denim-clad." Careful study of this article reveals that not one other single haircut or item of apparel is described with respect to those quoted. This is indeed a curious kind of reporting discrimination!

Eileen Detlefsen ***Bellevue, Ohio***

Due to an editing mistake in the Opinion page article "Cambodia Needs Aid, Not Just Elections," June 15, a phrase misidentified the source of human rights violations in Cambodia. It should have read "...the oppressive corruption and human rights violations of the Vietnamese-installed government of the State of Cambodia."

OPINION/ESSAYS

Science and Citizenship

By Paul Kengor and Peter D. Zimmerman

IF the American public expects its leaders to make sensible decisions about some of the most critical issues facing this nation in the next decade, we will all have to get a better understanding of the facts of science and scientific thinking than most Americans have today. Access to energy supplies, nuclear power and waste disposal, genetic engineering, AIDS, and global climate changes will dominate economics, medicine, and environmental policy.

Yet, more Americans know their astrological sign than understand that astrology is superstition. And only a tiny slice of the population grasps the scientific complexities of tomorrow's issues rather than the simplistic arguments hawked, for example, by those who brought us the "dangers" of Alar in apples, the supposed imminence – 20 years ago – of a new ice age, and global famine by 1990.

Presidential leadership will be essential to changing this situation, for we believe today's lack of interest in science results from a lack of interest in the subject by most American leaders. Americans are uninterested because most members of government and the media – who set the agenda that dominates everyday conversation – are themselves uninterested in science. Aside from occasional mention of space spectaculars and AIDS, there is little in-depth news coverage of science, and what little science shows up on television is treated more as spectacle or politics than scientific progress.

Of course, the lack of interest in science by newsmakers could be the result of bottom-up effects surfacing a generation later. Moreover, some might suggest that the media would pay more attention to science if there were a greater public demand.

But there is, in fact, plenty of demand. Stephen Hawking's book "A Brief History of Time," a stimulating but difficult volume on the physics of the universe, remained on the New York Times Best Seller list for more than 100 consecutive weeks. Boyce Rensberger, science editor of the Washington Post, started a widely read and respected science page. The New York Times publishes a weekly science section, and its reporters have won Pulitzer prizes.

There is latent public interest in science. But do most opinion leaders share that interest?

In a recent survey of the backgrounds and interests of the White House press corps, Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution drew a bleak picture of the media's interest in science. During the summer of 1991, Mr. Hess interviewed most White House reporters. He found that 37 percent of them had majored in journalism in college, while 58 percent studied in the humanities or liberal arts, leaving little room for science majors.

"White House reporters, then and now, are woefully uninterested in economics and the natural sciences," Hess wrote. Congressional reporters have equally little knowledge of science.

BRIAN LIES

Similarly, the vast majority of members of Congress have had virtually no exposure to the hard sciences. Using Congressional Research Service data, we estimate that no more than 15 current members of Congress have undergraduate or graduate degrees in the hard sciences and engineering – even counting medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine; that is less than 3 percent of our 535 legislators, the vast majority of whom are lawyers. By contrast, in 1990, 16 percent of all US baccalaureate degrees went to science majors, as did 16 percent of all master's degrees and 48 percent of all doctorates.

The pattern can be broken. President Clinton made an impressive gesture in picking his science adviser, Dr. John Gibbons, earlier than any president since John F. Kennedy. Mr. Clinton has an opportunity to stimulate broader public interest in science by taking added steps: the president's science adviser could be given Cabinet rank; a continuing White House fellowship program for scientists could be initiated; and funding could be increased in a predictable manner for basic and applied research. Clinton could call attention to science through public statements, speeches, meetings with distinguished scientists, and by visiting laboratories.

As the first century of space flight, quantum physics, and molecular biology draws to a close, the American public must become more involved with science. The decisions facing America will demand a broad understanding of the nature of science, the doors it opens, and the limitations it imposes.

Executive leadership must make that involvement happen.

■ *Paul Kengor is a research analyst who covers science issues for the political-military affairs program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. Peter D. Zimmerman is a physicist and senior fellow in arms control and verification at CSIS.*

US Broadcasting Enters New Era

ON a sunny Washington morning last week, President Clinton was in his White House office, mulling over remarks he was to make later in the day to a small group of experts on international broadcasting.

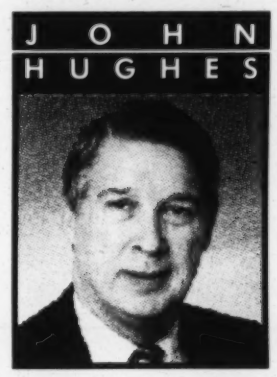
They had been invited to hear the president's long-awaited policy on the future of US government international broadcasting.

The president called in David Gergen, his new senior counselor. "Have you seen this," he asked, jabbing a finger at an article in that morning's New York Times. The article, by author and scholar Joshua Muravchik, made an impassioned case for funding a new Radio Free Asia "to do for such tyrannies as China, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and Burma, what Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe did for Communist Europe."

"Beef up my remarks on broadcasting to China and Asia," the president told Gergen. Thus, when Mr. Clinton met with his guests in the Roosevelt Room shortly thereafter and issued his formal policy statement later in the day, he made clear his commitment to launch a new "Asian Democracy Radio to provide accurate local and international information for the people of Asia whose governments still suppress the truth."

The president seems to have strong congressional support. Sen. Joseph Biden Jr. (D) of Delaware, who introduced preliminary legislation last year to establish the Asian radio service, told me: "It's going to happen. We're going to fight for it."

JOHN HUGHES



Under the president's plan, the Radio Free Asia project will be but part of a sweeping reorganization of the US government broadcasting effort around the world. The present diverse radio services will be consolidated under what Clinton says will be a "new and independent board of governors," politically bipartisan and appointed by the president, which will "ensure independence, coherence, quality, and journalistic integrity" in US government broadcast services.

The board would supervise the Voice of America, which broadcasts primarily national and international news around the world; Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, which traditionally have broadcast news about their own countries to the unfree nations of Eastern Europe; Radio Marti, which broadcasts to Cuba; and the new Radio Free Asia, or Asian Democracy Radio, which will have a heavy emphasis on broadcasting to China but will also beam tailored programs to North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and Burma.

The Clinton plan would thus do several significant things:

It would consolidate all US international broadcasting operations under one umbrella. It would maintain the different identities and differing missions of the present services, while giving the new board of governors the flexibility to fine-tune those missions as world conditions dictate.

It would give the Voice of America a greater degree of independence than it has ever had before, making it accountable to the board of governors rather than to a government agency.

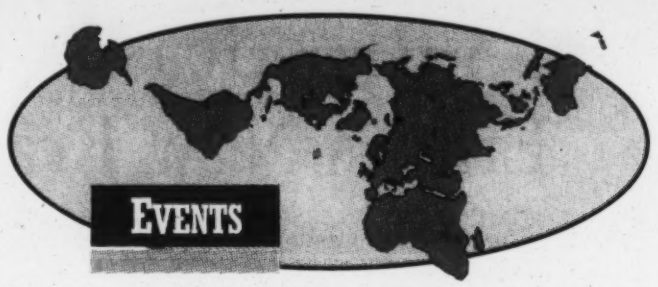
It would preserve, for the moment, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, whose critics have been calling for their demise.

It would target a significant new radio service at the unfree nations of Asia.

It would offer efficiencies of operation as all the radio services pooled resources, staff, and equipment; it also would offer cost reductions as the various services eliminated overlapping functions.

In the plan the president has presented, he has been able to count on several heroes. Two of them are Joseph Duffey, the new director of the United States Information Agency, parent organization of the Voice of America, who was formerly president of American University, and Daniel Mica, the new chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting, which operates Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

Mr. Mica is a former Democratic congressman from Florida. In closed-door sessions involving only themselves and one aide apiece, the two men hammered out an agreement that requires both of their organizations to make sacrifices, but which meets two critical requirements for US international broadcasting: It fulfills the national interest, and it serves the needs of the millions around the world the US is trying to reach.



UN RELIEF EFFORTS RESUME IN BOSNIA

Fighting between Muslims, Croats, and Serbs flared across a belt of central Bosnia Sunday, but UN military sources dismissed a Muslim commander's threat to use chemical weapons.

Artillery and infantry battles for disputed towns deepened the pessimism of UN peacekeepers that the latest cease-fire can take root. Still, the UN judged it was safe to reopen Sarajevo airport to relief flights after a six-day closure, and the first UN aid convoy for a month set out for the besieged Muslim enclave of Gorazde.

The commander of Bosnian government forces in the northern Muslim haven of Tuzla warned Saturday that he would use toxic chlorine manufactured in the town to attack Serbs if the onslaught against Gorazde did not stop. UN military sources said the threat was not being taken seriously because Muslims did not have the capability to deliver chemical weapons.

US to raise land use fees

The Interior Department plans to propose higher fees for grazing on federal lands by the end of next month, Secretary Bruce Babbitt said Saturday.

Ranchers now graze cattle and sheep on public land for far less than it costs to graze on private range land. But Western congressional leaders oppose higher fees.

Clinton also is committed to reforms to ensure that mining companies pay royalties when they take minerals from federal land, Mr. Babbitt said. The administration plans changes to protect public lands from erosion and damage caused by grazing and mining.

Rebel gains in Azerbaijan

Azeri rebel leader Suret Guseinov went to the aid of government troops near Nagorno-Karabakh yesterday, raising the possibility of his taking power, officials said.

Since launching his rebellion two weeks ago, Mr. Guseinov has seized about half of Azerbaijan's land, forced a government resignation, and caused President Abulfaz Elcinbey to flee the capital, leaving power in the hands of parliament speaker Geidar Aliyev.

Mr. Aliyev has been negotiating with Mr. Elcinbey, who on Saturday defiantly declared he is still in charge of the country, and Guseinov. The rebel commander has stuck by his threat to storm Baku unless Elcinbey formally resigns.

Egyptian bombing

Egypt's powerful Muslim Brotherhood, attacked by the government in the past for failing to condemn violence by Muslim militants, denounced yesterday the latest bomb attack in Cairo.

The bomb killed seven and injured 15 on Friday in a cafe and outside a mosque in the northern suburb of Shubra.

"The Muslim Brotherhood has vowed and vow to God to work hard for the benefit of this country, its security, safety, unity and stability ... and denounces this ugly crime that took place...," the group said in a statement.

Meanwhile, Egyptian security forces dismantled a time bomb containing 11 pounds of explosives and nails outside a bazaar shop in the southern tourist resort of Aswan, security sources said Sunday. The owner of the shop found the bomb Saturday night and alerted police. The device was similar to four others exploded in Cairo since February, including Friday's attack.

Cambodians reach agreement

Cambodia's former battlefield rivals will jointly control the powerful army and police force under a power-sharing deal agreed upon last Friday, a senior government official said yesterday.

The official said the formerly communist government party and the royalist FUNCINPEC opposition, which won last month's UN-organized election, would share the key defense and interior ministries.

Incumbent Prime Minister Hun Sen and FUNCINPEC leader Prince Norodom Ranariddh agreed Friday to serve as co-chairmen of an interim government that will rule for up to three months while the newly elected National Assembly writes a constitution.

Hun Sen and Prince Ranariddh, the son of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, also agreed that the neutral head of state would be commander in chief of the armed forces in the transition period.

– Compiled by Faye Bowers

COFFEE TALK at the Pentagon

Sarajevans Troubled Over Partition

BOSNIANS from page 1

Negotiating what all Muslims would regard as an inherently iniquitous deal would entail obvious risks. Any Bosnian government leader endorsing the partition could be courting displacement. And given the sense of injustice it would provoke, the formula itself could prove unstable, with the Muslims becoming increasingly radicalized.

"We will not give up. With the current cease-fire, we are just buying some time. We are getting some arms supplies in and making others ourselves. We will fight back," says a Bosnian Army officer.

A government official adds: "We would rather the United Nations simply pulled out, as it has only served our enemies by providing cover for Serbian expansionism.

"What we want is for the arms embargo on us to be lifted, so we can fight on level terms," the official says. "If the choice for us is between two forms of suicide, we would rather go down fighting."

'I was brought up as a Yugoslav. Then I became a Bosnian. Now I suppose I am a Sarajevan.'

– Sarajevo resident

For the Bosnian Muslims, the problem of identity is a real political issue. Especially in Sarajevo, Islam sits lightly on these people, whose forebears converted to the faith in the 15th century for essentially pragmatic reasons. Mosque-going believers are fairly few and far between.

Islam thus does not provide Bosnian Muslims with a sense of national identity of the strength and type felt by the Bosnian Serbs and Croats, who look to Serbia and Croatia for both material and spiritual sustenance.

For many Bosnians, the "Muslim" tag assigned them by the international media is a source of great irritation. It's even more so for the many non-Muslims of Serb (Orthodox), Croatian (Catholic), or mixed origins living in "Muslim" areas, who do not share the dream of ethnically "pure" nations.

"I was brought up as a Yugoslav," says one Sarajevo resident. "Then I became a Bosnian. Now I suppose I am a Sarajevan." And being a Sarajevan is increasingly difficult, given building nationalist pressures.

According to the Serb Consultative Council, a pro-government body that opposes Serb separatism, there are about 80,000 Serbs and many Croats still living in Sarajevo, nominally regarded as a "Muslim" area.

"Mixed families in Sarajevo are the rule rather than the exception," says one Sarajevan of mixed Serbian and Croat parentage now married to a Muslim. "What is to happen to us if the country is carved up ?"

Her husband adds: "I come from a village where the majority is Serb. I don't want to lose my home."

But if the current trend continues, the cosmopolitan pluralists are likely to find themselves increasingly caught in the middle. Many Sarajevans complain of the arrival of large numbers of displaced Muslims who are less tolerant in their mindset, and who have taken over some of the levers of local power.

Non-nationalist Serbs are increasingly obliged to keep a low profile for fear of attracting attention. But the pressures on identity are mounting from outside, too. A recent meeting of the mixed government-Serb-Croatian military commission had to be called off after the Bosnian Serb side refused to negotiate with the government team unless its leader, who was also a Serb, converted to Islam.

"I think we don't need any more internal borders, we need to live together as we did before this madness," says one Sarajevan.

But as happened in Lebanon and elsewhere, the best and the brightest, disillusioned, are trying to leave the country, believing there is no longer a place for them.

"I was always an optimist, but in this situation I'm being quite realistic," says a woman of mixed Serbian-Croatian parentage who recently married her similarly cosmopolitan husband.

Seeing no future for them here, they are planning to leave. "If this goes into another winter, it will go on and on, and it will become another Palestine," she says.